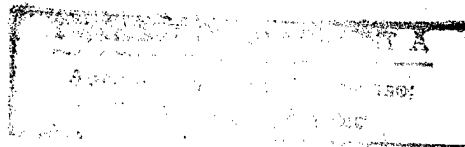


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# East Europe Report

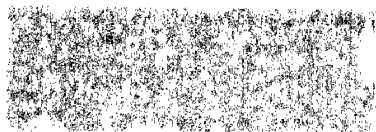
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2064

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15 October 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2064

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HIGH OFFICIAL MAKES CRITICAL REVIEW OF LOW BIRTH RATE

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 1, 2 Sep 82

[Article by Deputy Chairman of State Council of Bulgarian People's Republic Georgi Dzhagarov: "Let us Bring About Conditions for Such a Fine People as our Bulgarian People to Increase"]

[1 Sep 82 pp 1, 2]

[Text] At one time humanists, the creators of utopian socialism, naively assumed that with the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and of the exploitation of man by man, and with the establishment of the new social order and therewith of just relations among people, the family would gradually die out as one of the forms of economic and spiritual oppression.

Events refuted these assumptions. Nearly seven decades after the Great October Socialist Revolution and nearly four decades after the Ninth of September victory in our country, when the new society is being built in vast territories of the planet, it is becoming clearer and clearer that the family is not declining or dying out, but is experiencing a rebirth and its new life is growing stronger.

We can assert with scientific reliability that the defects and deformity which provoked the ire of philosophers and writers against the family were not innate in the family but were imposed by the ruling classes, that it had to be liberated itself in order to devote itself to its intended purpose.

The family historically was set apart as the most felicitous form for man's reproduction and existence, for mutual assistance and personal happiness, for a link between the generations, and this suggests to us that embedded in the family is the root of society, the root of the collective--large and small, the root of the people and nation, the root of stable moral principles and aspirations for beauty and harmony.

A cursory glance at our nation's past suffices for us to see that in periods when the Bulgarian state was devastated, the family preserved our language, way of life, culture, self-awareness and spirit, that against this small shield foreign incursions have shattered, as have attempts to absorb us, assimilate us, destroy us and obliterate us from the map of the world.



We have every reason to honor and esteem, appreciate and love the Bulgarian family, to guard and defend it, strengthen and improve it, for the Bulgarian family is the past, the present and the future of our homeland; it is we, it is our children and grandchildren, the destiny of everyone of us individually and of all of us collectively. If there is no Bulgarian family, there will be no Bulgaria.

These considerations compel us to think that we should assess any encroachment on the Bulgarian family as an encroachment on the Bulgarian character and existence, on the labor and gains of the Bulgarian working people, on the cause of socialism and communism in our country.

Of all the questions having to do with the family, the chief one is that of the birth rate. For year after year now, our birth rate has been declining; we Bulgarians are declining--declining in comparison with the growth rate of other nations, declining in comparison with our own growth rate of the recent past, declining also in comparison with our present potentialities. These are not abstract speculations or sentimental effusions, but inexorable facts.

With remorse we must acknowledge that the measures which are now projected in order to raise the birth rate could have been taken much earlier, back when the first signs of trouble appeared, but at that time the views of certain half-baked politicians, economists, sociologists and demographers had done us a great deal of harm.

A noisy spate of investigations and publications was asserting that the decline of our birth rate was an inevitable consequence of the restructuring of the country, of the collectivization and industrialization, of our embarking upon the scientific and technical revolution, of the upsurge in culture, of the rising expectations in man's value system.

The small family, the family with one or two children, was put forward as the model Bulgarian family; it was said that this was the wise and right decision; that instead of quantity of population, we should be concerned about the quality of the human being and that fewer people, purportedly, would necessarily take on higher qualities.

These were unfounded and short-sighted theorizations, but they had a persuasive ring against a background of the demographic picture in the Western countries, where a steady decline in the birth rate paralleling scientific and technical progress was noted. In general lines, these were the proofs which were used to substantiate certain basic assumptions in our demographic policy.

But it must be understood, of course, that in the Western countries the birth rate is directed in accordance with capitalist production, in accordance with the labor potential needed for exploitation and, first and foremost, in accordance with the trends of a stagnant society. This means abandoning the Marxist-Leninist class position for analysis and sinking to the level of the piddling comparisons and correlations so characteristic of bourgeois sociology.



The same error is made whenever the adverse consequences of the demographic explosion in certain countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are cited; the fact that these are former colonies of imperialism or countries dependent on imperialism is passed over in silence; it is forgotten that the irrepressible ultra-high birth rate there is nothing other than a policy of building up reserves of a cheap labor force and of modern oppression and pillage.

These views, in as far as they have supporters in our country, are drastically at variance with the objective natural laws of socialism. Perhaps it is difficult to discover our own solution, but discover it we must--this solution that will meet our needs of peopling our land more and more densely with young and vigorous replenishments.

Hardly anyone will dispute that the status of a country's birth rate reflects the degree of its humanization, of its self-confidence and self-awareness of its place in the sun. The country that is not interested in its reproduction is doomed to extinction. Is ours that sort of country? Are conditions in our country such as to turn us towards tragic evaluations and reevaluations of our historic course?

There can be only one answer to these questions. We are all interested in an increase in the birth rate regardless of our economic status and cultural level, our age and social differences. We are interested personally and socially. We are interested economically, morally and psychologically, from the standpoint of military strategy, foreign policy, in every way.

Economically. We have vast production capacities at our disposal. They must run continually and we can hardly turn them back to a single shift or a shift and a half. Comrade Todor Zhivkov once said that with three regular shifts the country will produce twice the wealth without making any additional capital investment. The decline in the birth rate will bring us to a crisis in the labor force; we will be compelled to seek a labor force from abroad. But Bulgaria is not West Germany or France. This labor force will remain in our country, will remain forever, will change the country's ethnic countenance and the result may be that the wealth on which we have spent our energies will pass to other people.

Moral and psychological. Only children in a family are unhappy children. They grow up with a drone disposition, are undisciplined, selfish, power-loving. They are accustomed to getting rather than giving. The first time they encounter difficulties in life they cave in, become disillusioned and turn into malcontents and envious persons. Having no brotherly and sisterly feelings, they have no social feelings, either. They will not throw themselves into hard tasks or sacrifice themselves for ideals. God help Bulgaria, she will have a hard time with such citizens!

From the standpoint of military strategy. The decline in the birth rate will adversely affect the country's defensive power since army enlistments will decline. Whatever the trends and achievements of modern military science may be and however much the importance of specialization and automation for the control of modern combat materiel may grow, history reminds us that live manpower



puts up the main resistance to an enemy. It is not a matter of indifference whether the army we have at our disposal is greater or smaller.

From the standpoint of foreign policy. Are they aware of the relevant demographic factors, that Bulgaria is in the center of the Balkan Peninsula, that it is surrounded by a population of more than 100 million, that this population is going to reach 120 to 150 million and that some of it is participating in the aggressive plans of imperialism? Even if we expected only understanding and good neighborliness, our country still could not hold out against demographic pressure from abroad; it would crack at the seams, wire entanglements around the borders could not protect it.

Bulgaria is an outpost of peace, democracy and socialism in this exceptionally important sector of the world. Its international role in Europe is constantly growing everywhere. But we must not doubt that if our country's birth rate continues to decline or even if it holds where it is now, a drop and an ebb will ensue and an entire chain reaction of adverse consequences will result.

To these considerations more could be added, but these will suffice to show that circumstances themselves compel us to halt the trend towards a decline in our birth rate and to bring about conditions for the expanded reproduction of the Bulgarian people. At the same time it is not solely a question of quantitative, but also of qualitative, of spiritual reproduction.

Since we cannot discover any objective preconditions, nor do any exist, for a decline in our birth rate, it is natural to turn to the subjective factor, to ourselves, to the decisions and decrees that we issue. Then we will see that the approach that we employ is already outdated for the present, is outworn, has exhausted its possibilities and has begun to operate in the opposite direction.

In principle, it contains two crucial shortcomings. The first is its leveling tendency, the fact that the state gives assistance with identical generosity for an increase in birth rate both to okrugs with a reduced birth rate and to okrugs with a comparatively high birth rate. The second is sponging off the government, the fact that parents are offered payment to have children and that the state little by little will take upon itself the entire support of the children.

Experience shows that the present approach serves people with a low sense of parental responsibility, with a coarse and callous attitude towards children, and sometimes people reduced to riffraff, who live on the backs of their children or use state aid to lead a happy-go-lucky way of life.

[2 Sep 82 pp 2,3]

[Text] Several myths about the birth rate, which are propagated among the people and youth with the hospitable complaisance of the mass information media, as well as the benevolent attention of certain responsible organizations and institutions, also have an extremely bad effect on the mental adjustment of citizens towards children.



Myth No. 1 is that a decline in the birth rate is characteristic of every developed country. But how then do we explain the vigorous growth of the birth rate in countries like the Soviet Union, the United States and Japan?

Myth No. 2 is that the higher the culture of the family, the fewer the children. But how then do we categorize Aleksandr Pushkin, Victor Hugo, Lev Tolstoy, Thomas Mann, Charlie Chaplin, who had families with five or six and even more children?

Myth No. 3 is that the fewer the children, the better they are brought up. But what do we say then about the appearance of Vasil Levski, Khristo Botev, Ivan Vazov, Georgi Dimitrov and many other remarkable personages of our nation besides in families with many children?

Myth No. 4 is that a woman now is far too busy. But can the busyness of a woman today be compared in any regard whatsoever with the busyness of a woman in the past when she was compelled to drudge from dawn to dusk in other people's fields and enterprises?

Since we have mentioned myths, we must mention some other things too at the risk of being misunderstood--things no longer in the realm of fantasy, but realities which we ourselves manage and control. Let us pass over the open sale of contraceptives and the harm done to genitalia by various devices and preparations. Let us dwell cursorily on two less offensive topics.

Abortions. In our country they are permitted and this is right. But according to the law, authorization is granted for cogent reasons, serious illnesses, moral wrongs, life endangerment etc. For a country like ours, there may be 5,- to 10,000 such cases, make it 20,000, but 150,- to 160,000 abortions with a planned 45 abortions per day per medical consulting room are inexplicable. Where is the conscience of those who turn their physician's duty into a formality, who authorize and perform so many murders? Where is their humanism, where is their concern for humanity? Do they realize that in addition to the destruction of the live fetus they are also encroaching upon the woman's sacred right to be a mother?

In our country about 300,000 children are conceived annually, enough for a normal reproduction. But what happens later on? Most of them are destroyed; about 120,000 are born. Of those born, a considerable portion go to make up for the death rate among the population, leaving 10 times less for population growth than what nature has envisaged for its own replacement.

A number of social reasons are put forward to justify the abortions. But social reasons can be found for murders, as well as thefts and misappropriations. Does this mean that we must permit such crimes? What kind of ground is it for medical authorities that two young people have sinned? If they have sinned, let them pay dearly, and ever so dearly, for their sin; let them pay not 5 or 30 leva as now, but 200-300 leva, so that when they feel like sinning again, they will think first of the consequences.



A strange paradox results. On the one hand, vast funds are thrown into stimulating the birth rate; on the other hand, no less funds, and possibly more, are thrown into restricting it. This is a Gordian knot which either has to be untied or cut in a single blow, as intelligent and bold people the world over would do.

Sexual standards. What is the problem? To inculcate in young people a healthy morality and healthy habits in relations between men and women, to master the rules of hygiene and cleanliness, and to learn beauty and mutual respect in sexual intercourse. A serious, necessary and delicate problem.

Instead, young people are sometimes offered the secrets of the forbidden fruit in an offensive light; the temptations of physical pleasures are laid bare. There are scattered publications in which it is difficult to tell the difference between medical advice and pornographic sensation. Sexologists are encountered who seek to reduce love, nature's grand design, to the technique of the sex act.

Some publications and books make suggestions that the sexual revolution which started in the West is not a random, but a natural and progressive phenomenon and that it will be realized genuinely only under socialism. A fine compliment for socialism! Proceeding from this premise, some sex maniacs trifle with science and go so far as to justify sexual relations between infant girls and boys.

What a mockery of the people's morality, what an abuse of public patience! But if we try to object, we will be declared hopeless old fogeys. On the basis of reliable investigations they will prove to us that sexual maturity now occurs much earlier than in the past. And why? Has nature by any chance changed its course and has man started to walk on four legs again? Because young people now have been getting abundant information from the films, the stage, pictures, magazines, video tapes. Maybe this is so. But then, is not the right thing to do to close the channels from which this swill pours forth, rather than to go along with it and justify it?

The conclusions are inescapable, but in all likelihood there will rise up against them a whole slough of authors, editors, executives, operators, disk jockeys, merchants, mama's boys and weak sisters and who knows who else. They will remind us of the Latin proverb that nothing human is alien to us, will cite examples from literature and art for us, dumbfound us with their philosophy and convince us they are doing everything from noble motives. What are we to say in answer to them?

For us these are sick people, and their path is the path to psychiatric hospital, and not to newspapers, publishing houses, television, cinema, radio. A person is master of himself, but nobody has the right to use the physical facilities of socialism, especially the physical facilities of socialist culture, to circulate diseases and sow depravity and corruption.

Marshaled one after another, our observations paint a gloomy picture, but they must not divert us from the basic cause of the decline in our birthrate, and



that reason is that with the arrival of every new child the parents' living standard declines appreciably, their housing space becomes crowded, their leisure time is curtailed, their worries and anxieties multiply, and the family's moral and psychological climate deteriorates.

Guided by the desire for a comprehensive solution of the birth rate question and after long reflection and debate on the fate of the Bulgarian, what could we at least recommend in order to overcome the inertia and get out of the vicious circle of the 9 million Bulgarian citizens?

First, we must eliminate the obstacles which we have artificially erected in the way of the Bulgarian's aspirations to have more children, obstacles of a moral and economic nature, short- and long-term obstacles, obstacles of prejudices, conventions, complications, courtships, formulas and sections of laws, and this means, first and foremost, giving up the present approach and the mechanisms that serve it.

Second, we must adopt a new approach, must turn the clock up to date, address ourselves to the human aspect of the question, take into account the requirements of tomorrow, combine social and personal interests, and respond not only to the public needs of citizens and working people, but also to the family needs of sons and daughters, reestablishing the tradition of the family with many children as the Bulgarian's normal family.

Third, we must introduce measures such that the family will feel that it is the object of genuine attention, will feel confidence in its expectations for its children and the conviction that its children will bring it joy and happiness. But anxieties come with life. Nobody procreates children for the sake of the anxieties that lie ahead. Children must not be a source of profit, but neither must they be a source of losses. What do we have in mind? The state should maintain relatively the same living standard that the parents attain through socially useful labor. The expenses for children should be divided between the family and the state.

How long are we going to speculate over whether the family is an economic unit or not? It has been and will continue to be an economic unit until it bears and rears producers and consumers with this difference, that now its existence is associated with public, rather than private ownership of the means of production. That is where the key to the right distribution of the costs of rearing and educating children lies.

It will sound like a joke, but the truth must be spoken. We say that we give assistance for the third child, but in fact we give assistance mainly for the first. The misunderstanding results from the fact that no allowance is made for the contribution to the family budget from the removal of the bachelors' tax, but this contribution averages 20 leva per parent making 40 leva altogether, plus 5 leva extra in wages, making 45 leva.

On the arrival of the second child, although family expenses double, assistance declines sharply from 45 to 15 leva. On the arrival of the third child, assistance is raised to 45 leva again. But by now the machine is beyond repair; the



troubles on account of the children have reached the point where the parents give no thought at all to what assistance they receive. Add to this that the idea of a third child finds no justification in practice. Soviet science has proved that the third child serves to compensate for the losses of the first and second; that it is not the third, but the fourth child in the family that solves the question of the nation's necessary increase.

Respect for the parents requires that care for the first and second child should be made completely available to the family. As for state assistance, in the plan of social development it will take the form of the elimination of the bachelors' tax and lower prices for goods and services for children. In our country every family can raise two children free of anxiety. And if it does not want to, this is now a moral and psychological question.

We are astonished by the fact that for the most active under-30 age bracket the bachelors' tax is 5 percent of wages, while after 30 it increases to 10 percent. The reasons can be explained, but they cannot be justified. The bachelors' tax should be the identical percentage for all age brackets and should include not only wages, but also additional income from private plots, from fees, from gifts etc., and for those who do not perform socially useful labor, it should be at least 20 leva per month.

We should also give thought to whether it is not reasonable to remove the bachelors' tax in two stages--for one parent on the arrival of the first child, and for the other on the arrival of the second. In this way state assistance from the removal of the bachelors' tax will be distributed identically for both children. The state must show its generosity only when the third child arrives by providing half the support for three children, an average of 35 leva per month per child, so that the sum total plus the parents' share amounts to 210 leva, and for four children 280 leva, a sum sufficient for the decent rearing of the children.

Moreover, it seems to us that state assistance should not be through the parents and in money, but should be direct and in kind so as to make a direct effect on the children's imagination and consciousness and so that they will remember what they are receiving and from whom and one day will repay the state for its care. This could be done by introducing special stamps with which every child under 16 years of age from a family with many children will be able to buy, at state expense, a snack and lunch in the kindergarten or school cafeteria, textbooks, notebooks, training aids, tickets for the theater, exhibits and museums, two pairs of shoes and changes of clothing annually.

The expansion of socialist democracy requires that the people's councils should participate in the cares of raising the birth rate; they know best what social assistance families with more children have need of. Trade-union and Komsomol organizations, and mainly enterprises, could be involved more closely in this cause. A gift from the collective on the occasion of the New Year or national and local holidays, name-days and birthdays, a bouquet of flowers, a greeting, a vacation card, an excursion ticket--all these can prove extraordinarily beneficial.



It will be fair for the children from families with many children to enroll in specialized and higher schools for job training and retraining and for getting a job, other things being equal. We hear the objections but will not agree with them, for we are talking not about a hereditary advantage, but about an advantage acquired by personal services to the building of society. Whoever gives should receive more. This is a socialist principle. The lack of a legalized preference for families with many children is in fact a preference for those who merit it the least, who deliberately refuse to have children or avoid rearing and educating children left without parents and relatives.

As citizens invested with the people's confidence, we have the right to wonder whether such people merit respect. As is known, man's link with the ideal, with the homeland, with the present and future of the country is implemented through children. If a person breaks this link, for whom does he labor and create? For himself, for his career, to get himself established and to prosper. His talk of honesty and devotion, of love and duty remains poised in midair. Such people hold themselves above everything. For that reason they have no job in responsible posts, either.

Formerly, simple and modest means, comprehensible to the consciousness of every citizen, were used in Bulgaria for the reproduction of the population. At that time our country ranked first in Europe in birth rate despite misery, hunger, disease and a high death rate. What prevents this experience from being studied and applied with relevant corrections and additions, of course, in accordance with new conditions? But instead of our own experience, which in some measure is remarkable, some of our specialists prefer to study the experience of other countries, mainly Western ones, and then submit dubious items of information and still more dubious proposals.

At the present stage, the Achilles' heel of the birth rate in our country is housing. The little bird, wherever there is a little bird, as it returns from remote parts, its first task is to build a nest, for otherwise there is no place to lay its eggs and hatch its young. This is as plain as can be; that is why edicts are issued and plans are made, but the question still remains unsolved. However, it can be solved. What is needed is just a little more exertion of the intellect and a little more sense of responsibility in the allocation of available housing locally. Our country is no longer the sort that cannot provide at least one room for two children and two rooms for three and four children.

A question for our designers and architects. When they are drawing and drafting buildings and entire districts and conurbations, do they think about where the children are going to play, where the children will see grass, flowers, birds, trees, woods, a brook, a spring, land, sky, clouds and sun, an expanse for the eyes, where they will perceive the smells and sounds of nature. If anybody thought about this, who prevented him from fulfilling his plans?

And, finally, a few notes about the nation's spiritual reproduction, about its right to reproduce not just anyhow, but as a Bulgarian nation; about the fact that the children must grow up not only healthy, alert, educated, hard-working, disciplined, daring, honest and good, but also Bulgarians; and as Bulgarians



must love their homeland and link with it their labor and creative work, their convictions, conduct, life and destiny; as Bulgarians they must be inculcated with internationalism, with fraternal feelings towards other countries and peoples, with the right attitude towards the world in general.

As far as we have information, we know of no country or state that will give money or allot funds and time for the reproduction of opposed elements and alien and hostile groups among the population. The principles of humanism require that we protect the rights of people to their own land and its resources, that we unite and close ranks, that we come into closer contact with each other and that we proceed ever more harmoniously along the path of socialism and communism.

Our children must have hearts and souls for authentic brotherhood, for confidence and love, for social mingling and a feeling of kinship, for that wholehearted spiritual elevation in the name of which the struggle against fascism and capitalism is waged and in the name of which we are building a new Bulgaria. Our children must know better than we do that our nation is like its citizens, a complex mixture of ethnic streams and groups, and that therein lies its pre-eminence, its strength and beauty.

Our duty, of all of us who were born on Bulgarian soil and are working in the Bulgarian mountains and fields, in Bulgarian factories and plants, who eat Bulgarian bread, breathe Bulgarian air and communicate in the Bulgarian language, our duty is to educate our children so that they feel themselves a small part of the Bulgarian people, flesh and blood of the Bulgarian socialist nation, Bulgarians in spirit and character, with identical responsibility to the present and future of the fatherland.

Regardless of who descended from what tree millennia ago, where he started out from, by what route he proceeded and with what tribe he came to this land, we must deliberately transform the gains of the socialist revolution into (and embody them in) a common feeling and conviction on the part of our children of allegiance to the Bulgarian socialist nation and to the policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

History has brought our country face to face with great tasks. These can be performed only by people capable of understanding and shouldering their mission. With more such people our country will more rapidly approximate the ideal of human happiness, beauty and harmony in international and social relations.

According to scientists, Bulgaria can easily provide work and goods for a population of about 30 to 35 million. For us, this is in the realm of fantasy and, as realists, we have good reason to hold back. But at the same time, we must have an idea of the country's potentialities in order to set our near- and long-term goals more credibly.

In this epoch in which the forces of the old world and the forces of the new world are engaged in decisive battle, an epoch in which mankind is making a transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, from slavery and exploitation to freedom, creative work, equal rights and peace on the planet, no efforts are excessive to bring about conditions for a fine people like our Bulgarian people to be fruitful and multiply.

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PRAGUE AUTHOR SUGGESTS NEW CHARTER 77 APPROACHES

Paris SVEDECTVI in Czech No 66, 1982 pp 263-273

[Article by Martin Streda: "Critically on the Movement of Citizens Self-Aid"]

[Text] In January 1982, 5 years had elapsed since the first proclamation of Charter 77. It was then the beginning of one of the most remarkable, thoughtfully conceived movements emerging in this century under government systems which infringe on or totally suppress basic human and civil rights. From the outset, this magazine understood the moral and social impact of the Charter (see Svedectvi No 53 of February 1977), and has since devoted consistent attention to this movement of citizens self-aid.

Unfortunately the history of the movement is linked with ever-increasing legal arbitrariness and police repression by the regime which the Charter struck in its most vulnerable spot well known to all, namely, in its two-faced mendacity. Seldom has such a large apparatus been organized against a handful of people, against their families, and even against burials of those who had died. The announcement of the newly selected Charter spokesmen (Dr Radim Palous, Anna Marvanova and Ladislav Lis) on the fifth anniversary, simply states that Charter 77 will continue to live and work, despite all attempts to suppress it, "it will act in solidarity with all those, whether they be at home or abroad, who strive for genuine human relations in peace, based on liberty and justice for all."

The 5-year experience of the uneven struggle prompts some reflection on where this struggle had succeeded, where it failed, how to proceed in the future and with whom. In the spirit of the initiators of the movement, such reflection should be critical, as well as without any claim of having the last word. The essay which follows, whose author must shield himself under a pseudonym, is part of a longer study which intends to review the 5-year activity of Charter 77 in this spirit.



We do not intend here to discuss the positive aspects of the movement of citizens initiatives (opposition, for the sake of brevity) in Czechoslovakia. These were written about by others here and abroad, and we can identify with what has been said in terms of principles. We are rather concerned with a critical viewpoint of the type of activity which at first glance makes criticism difficult, no matter how justified. For people understandably object that since there already is enough ill will by opponents, why should we start opening the door to self-criticism which can only further weaken us in face of the overwhelming power and repressive apparatus with which we are confronted each day? This is true. Those who, in comparison with other citizens, have a much harder life, those who have been pushed aside, fired from their place of employment, insulted and often persecuted, feel that criticism from our own ranks is something akin to soiling one's own nest, or something like an overly luxurious article we cannot afford.

Criticism should represent a brake against unproductive willfulness. There is only a short step from that to obstinacy which is of little use to others precisely because a stubborn person refuses to accept the views of others. At best, he or she attracts only those who share similar views. Disinterest in a critical voice leads to isolation, since it discourages those who would like to criticize. In the end, disinterest in a dialogue will discourage many others.

Isolation, a significant characteristic of our opposition is, of course, not caused exclusively by distaste for criticism from our own ranks. There are other more powerful forces in play which isolate us. One of them is the impact of state power which is unfortunately quite effective. The fate of the dissidents, even those still out of prison, is not conducive to emulation. Another, perhaps even more important factor, is the disinterested attitude of the broad public which has become accustomed to "real socialism" and finds in it a modest but, at least for now, sufficient satisfaction. In this difficult situation, the opposition should strive to extricate itself somehow from this vise. It does not appear that it had accepted this as one of its practical tasks, or that it has conducted a thorough analysis of this handicap.

Ours is an ideological and cultural opposition. Other types (e.g., political in a narrower sense) do not and perhaps for now cannot exist in our country. The cultural opposition is an arena where we struggle for "peoples' consciousness." What has been achieved in this sphere? Certainly something. There is unpublished literature with which the officially sanctioned production cannot compete in terms of quality. In spite of the "normalization" policy, it was possible to continue work in certain social sciences, while officially approved institutions were either abolished or suffer from utter sterility. Nevertheless, if we were able to trace the peregrinations of even a successful unofficial publication, what would we find? In Prague, we would find certain circles in which such things are known, while in Brno it would be less. In the regional cities, we would find only a handful of individuals knowledgeable of such undertakings. What would we find in the districts?



The bitterness of this isolation was demonstrated in Vaclav Havel's "The Audience." He himself saw no immediate way out of this dilemma. Have any of us really thought about how to break out from behind this barrier?

Isolation is not the only shortcoming in the opposition. Another is its concentration on one type of activity, in other words, its one-sidedness. There is a connection between the two handicaps, they are two parts of the same whole. One causes the other and vice versa, both have been here since the outset.

If we imagine the national community as an organism, albeit a sick one, then its cultural opposition should be its healthy organ in which mature precisely those thoughts which the state power in its illness and desire for self-preservation is trying to suppress. The cultural opposition should, therefore, be open to all of society and should see to it that society is open toward it.

Instead, the cultural opposition represents a foreign body in society, sometimes close to a sect with strange customs, intellectual and attitudinal stereotypes which are quite incomprehensible to those "others." The first thing that both sides promptly become aware of is the mutual distance and strangeness. Let us recall, for instance, the dissidents at their place of work, in exile away from Prague, etc. An unbridgeable distance is maintained by those who refuse to be employed if the position, as is often the case, does not correspond to the ability and qualification of the dissident. They can afford to do this and strangely enough it makes little difference whether they live on royalties stemming from their past work or other subsidies. One way or another, public opinion views them as living off their dissidence. Granted, public opinion is largely uninformed and insensitive and we need not kowtow to it; however, it is the only one we have and to ignore it totally is tantamount to political suicide. To what kind of tune are our dissidents dancing? We may perhaps clarify this a bit by going back to the early years of "normalization."

At that time, the nonconformist intellectuals raised their voices principally against those restrictions of the new regime which affected themselves, such as curtailed freedom of speech, more precisely, freedom of criticism. Thus, they were defending their professional prerogatives, even though they spoke in the name of the nation as a whole. Only secondarily did they come out in defense of society's needs and even then not quite convincingly, since as representatives of a specific social stratum, they did not really know the misery of the others. Most Charter 77 documents, including its founding statement, reflect this quite clearly. Consequently, members of the other social strata did not respond to this type of opposition with any enthusiasm, or even real interest. It would have been better to first awaken their awareness of their own miserable condition. This, however, was not even attempted. Vaclav Havel in his famous character, the vegetable peddler, assumed a stance so rigorously moralizing that he deprived himself of any chance to affect the "ordinary people" whom the peddler obviously represented.

And there the trend remained. Our cultural opposition has been and remains the affair of penmen who like to write and read and whose most essential need



and greatest joy is the formulation of their own thoughts and publication of their own texts. It is in this manner they wish to influence others, while stopping short of honestly assessing the real impact which, under the circumstances, would be difficult anyway. In real terms, such an opposition is nothing but a loosely knit and obscurely delineated reading and debating circle, some of whose members are the authors of the texts debated. Such an opposition cannot be called a movement, since there is neither a common program, nor common internal impulses in a specific direction. (...)

It would appear, however, that a new era in the history of national resistance against totalitarianism is dawning. A signified epilogue to the forms of resistance during the 1969-1981 period would be its reevaluation, to which this text aspires to contribute in a modest measure.

The opposition will have to continue to try to influence peoples' minds, but henceforth this will have to be focused on deeds. For, by and large, the people "know" everything, but this knowledge somehow results in ambiguity. They think and feel differently from how they ultimately act. It is possible that the current end of "gulash socialism" will herald a new period with respect to the receptivity of the broad popular strata of society to the influences, if any, of the ideological opposition. The latter, however, will have to change its ways. Literary exhibitionism of times past will not be the most suitable instrument.

Insofar as some citizens decide that resistance is necessary--and provided they are ready to act--this opposition will have to become a dedicated political force. The term "political" does not mean that they should from the very beginning set forth political goals in the true sense of the word. It does mean that they should become intimately acquainted with the sorry condition of the nation, rather than just their own personal or professional sphere, and that they should get to know what exactly can be done against this misery. If it is still not clear, let us replace the term "dedicated politics" with "activist awakening" and let us remember--even though the struggle was different then--our old patriots from the time before national independence.

The term "national awakening" has somehow been missing in the concepts of our cultural opposition. To a degree, it was replaced by the word "preserve," in other words, read, formulate, publish, communicate in the same or at least similar manner as when it was permitted. If the publishing houses are hostile to us, we will put out unpublished works in "Padlock Editions." If we cannot publish the old ORIENTATION, then at least we have SPEKTRUM. If we cannot have the theater "On the Balustrade," then we produce "living-room theater." The effort, in brief, was to preserve at least a small oasis of the late 1960's.

Time has shown however that the nation will not be awakened by any of the showy deeds of the dissidents, any individual heroism, any spectacular event abroad, nor by anything else undertaken thus far. And what was the response of the cultural opposition to all this? The response was helplessness and depression. If they only studied and probed this national lethargy



as a sociological phenomenon! Even this has not happened. Obviously, the national lethargy strikes at the opposition as well.

The subject of the above-mentioned study could be, for example, a typical Czech family, especially the consistent sabotage by parents of the needs of their children's soul, the craven attempt to withhold from the child the truth of the distorted and distorting social mechanisms of a totalitarian state, ostensibly because the parents are unable to provide an example of how to resist this warping of society. Similarly instructive could be research in other groupings, e.g., the classroom, labor collective, small plot holders community, whole professions, including the power elite, etc. Perhaps such a probe would shed light on the matter of split personality which results in a defective human being who thinks and feels one way and acts in quite another. The results of such analyses would perhaps show the opposition how not only to inform but how to effectively educate, or said differently, awaken.

Let us recall the expressions of self-satisfaction over all that had been published in the "Padlock Editions," how many anthologies we have put together, how many periodicals, theater performances...etc. Let us leave aside literary criticism and ask how many of these products had a popular educational potential? Let us please leave aside for a moment the possible distaste of the term "popular education," let us rather remember that in all the European countries which had in the past become ripe for social change, there was active participation of their intellectual stratum, thus also literature (e.g., prerevolutionary French, Polish, Russian, early Czech, Baltic, Yugoslav, etc.). Literature's social function became concentrated as if in one stream and this gave it strength and impact which was needed at the time. Even though the opposition may be aware of this need (since it suffers from corresponding shortcomings), the state of the original samizdat literature does not reflect this. Leaving aside the novels, poetry, etc., we find that only a few works can be regarded as having a mobilizing ethos, e.g., Klansky's "Exile," Klima's "My Cheerful Mornings," some of the feuilletons, especially Vaculik's. Otherwise, artistic, self-reflective, ergo egocentric creativity predominates. And it was precisely the above-mentioned works which gained the greatest popularity. In comparison with belles-lettres, works of profound and challenging thought are very few in our samizdat production. Remarkable works, such as "Restoration of Order" or "Nineteen Sixty-Eight," represent isolated exceptions. Our opposition clearly does not favor analysis, evaluation, or a program. It is unable to regard them in the sphere of literary creativity as anything but symptoms of dullness.

Perhaps the nation is undergoing a repeat of its post-White Mountain tragedy. The "enlightened and progressive" faith injected by Marxism is drawing its last breath in ruins. What now? What, in the name of the Lord, are we to awaken? And under what banners? This is a great challenge for the elite of spiritual resistance which our opposition perhaps wanted to be for the past 12 years. That opposition, however, is gradually packing its bags for a trip to Vienna. Those left behind will lament that everything is in vain. And cynical collectors of bibliophilia will secretly buy old issues of SPEKTRUM, CZECH EDITION. (...)



When some time ago a certain group within the Charter advocated an organized method of work, it met with justified opposition because the basic characteristic of affiliation with the Charter was public endorsement of its founding proclamation. A public, as well as organized, association whose charter opposes the will of the state, would not survive a single day.

Disagreement with the suggestion of formal organization is understandable also in the sense that such an organization of the opposition would appear to identify itself with the views of the group which made the suggestion in the first place. In this particular case, it was a group considered, rightly or wrongly, "Trotskyite" or "revolutionary socialist."

The situation in the nation is far from revolutionary in the sense the term is generally understood here. Such understanding stems from textbooks on historical materialism which regard violent revolution as the antithesis of evolutionary reform. The majority in our country show great enthusiasm for "change"--by and large only in platonic terms--while few if any favor "revolution." Our "revolutionary socialists" have no opportunity to acquaint the public (not even the dissidents) with what they actually have in mind. Thus, they cannot expect much receptivity.

Moreover, let us admit to ourselves that the so-called revolutionary socialists, Trotskyites or even the reform communists, in other words, all those who still flirt with Marxist socialism, can hardly aspire to the position of "vanguard of social development." While, on the one hand, they appear to be qualified "experts," since no one else possesses such well prepared revolutionary rhetoric, on the other, however, there is the indisputable reality of failure in all socialist revolutions. Such tiresome mass disillusionment quickly makes obsolete any right of these groups to revolutionary leadership, and only increases distrust in them.

For now, I do not include under the term "organization" a structural formalization and group functions, but rather something more general, such orderliness and a charter.

The current opposition has nevertheless from time turned to those "others." It did so when it wanted to be heard and when it tried to determine whether the "others" were able and willing to listen. That is an example of random activity. At other times, perhaps one or another of the leaders of the underground conceived his activity as a long-term influence on the young generation which he wanted to bring up in his own image. He did it in such a way, however, that it soon became short-term because he decided (perhaps he had to) to emigrate, while his followers who still needed leadership were left in the lurch. Another example of confused activity. A certain singer of forgotten folk songs and author of original and appealing protest songs, was able to captivate audiences the country over with his remarkable charisma. At a point when he was becoming a living legend and our boys and girls were willing to follow his slightest wish, his lady manager committed suicide as a result of police investigation of their activities. The singer packed his guitar, left and went to sing for our countrymen abroad, many of whom no longer remember the Czech language. This, of course, is an example of very disorganized activity.



We could continue in this vein for quite a time. The dissident movement of the past has been marked by virtues and shortcomings of a rather adolescent nature. The coming wave, if any, will have to grow up and mature. A settled, orderly procedure will be one of the signs of maturity which any future opposition will have to master. And the type of organization in a narrower sense into which some were so anxious to rush in the past? After all our experiences, why not?

As long as the opposition lacks sufficient popular support, as long as it is unable to create, together with the informed, sufficiently activist and dissatisfied segment of our society, a functioning organization which applies the principles of division of labor, it cannot achieve the changes it strives for. In such a case, it must remain in ready reserve. But even there it must not be passive but must rather keep in shape, so to speak, and maintain potential public contacts, in order to be able to mobilize itself and the public when the right time comes.

The potential public contacts are not merely channels through which printed matter is disseminated. Under this term we include activist thinking latent among the public and effectively formulated by the opposition, examples by personal behavior, in other words, the sum total of all that adds prestige to the opposition in the eyes of the public.

The deepening of the economic and ultimately political crisis in our country will surely generate, sooner or later, spontaneous disaffection which will grow. It is difficult to foresee its manifestations. Let us not forget that the demoralization of the nation has been deepening since 1969, and that therefore we cannot discount even regrettable incidents sparked by popular wrath. To the extent that an organized, orderly opposition exists, this would be its time to act. It would help rationalize collective awareness and unite expressions of popular will, until it finally stood at the head of the popular movement. If there are such manifestations here in the foreseeable future, we will be faced by the sad fact that such a task is beyond our opposition because it forgot to prepare for it.

The first time the opposition addressed the broad public was with the Charter 77 founding proclamation. This focused attention on it and, with unwanted help of the slanderous campaign of the official communications media, broad strata of the population took a sympathetic position toward it. This soon ebbed, however, because the Charter as a political factor committed, in my opinion, two fundamental errors.

First of all, it did not correctly grasp the order of priorities in serious social problems which it presented to the public, and began with those which had little in common with popular feelings, even some which evoked distaste. Thus, for example, it rushed in with the demand for creative freedom which affects primarily certain professional strata, next it singled out conditions in CSSR prisons, followed by a discussion of the unequal treatment of the gypsy minority. A segment of the Chartists began speaking out against the death penalty. All of these are certainly serious problems, nevertheless their selection and the sequence in which they were presented reflected the



mentality of youthful defiance, aside from the fact that they can be understood in a more complicated form than that in which they appeared in the Charter documents. In contrast, the so-called consumer document (which alone could expect a wider impact) appeared only after considerable hesitation, too late, when people were already tired of the subject and, what is more, the document contained an "anticonsumer" introduction which in fact demeaned the urgency of the problem. As the very last to date, there was a quality document on the ecology which, however, was inadvisedly preceded 2 years earlier by the controversial document on nuclear power plants. Documents on the situation in health care and on problems of women who represent half of our population, had unfortunately remained in the planning stage. It was in this manner that the Charter lost credibility which a movement aspiring to represent popular yearning for improvement must have. If someone objects by saying that this was not the Charter's aspiration that it only wanted to be a voice of conscience, we can accept this only if we also accept the premise that our opposition, which in great measure supported the Charter, has thereby resigned the role of a political factor. Politics does not stand above morality but it is certainly more potent in real terms.

The Charter's second mistake, which cannot be held against it as much as the first but which nonetheless was costly, was its lack of prior preparation and readiness for the regime's counterstrikes. The Chartists thereafter had no choice but to constantly (and in the long run monotonously) acquaint the public with its own suffering. This, however, could not bring them anything but pity.

The public gradually began turning away from these endeavors. This brought about helplessness in the ranks of the Chartists, often concealed behind exhibitionist defiance and acts which had all the appearances of martyred gestures. There were even actions which could be labeled sectarian arrogance. Within the Charter there sprouted a tendency to make a distinction between those who lost their jobs and those who remained within the state "structure," the latter being immediately dubbed "structuralists." Both terms have become of common usage within the movement. The Chartists engaged in self-congratulation for a moral victory which they carried home from their political defeat. They thus abdicated their will and capability to differentiate among "the others." This in fact exacerbated their defeat because it deepened their isolation.

When I speak of the "public," I do not mean a homogenous mass. Even in the ranks of this public there are many who observe, listen and worry about many things. For now, they feel helpless and, more importantly, are not aware of each other. At the same time, they may have important information, reliable information which the opposition lacks, they maintain their professional qualifications and, as yet, are far from resignation. It would be helpful to them and to us if they could at the right time establish contact with whatever opposition mechanism there might be "outside the structure." These people, however, do not hold the opposition in any great trust as a responsible political partner and this is unfortunately understandable. Insofar as the people depend on the somewhat one-sided reports of the Western radios, the term "dissident" means someone akin to a righteous young man whose passions



have overcome his judgment, someone lost in a vicious circle who, given his unenviable fate, tries with understandable, though redundant, vehemence to prove that legality in our country is not being observed. Stated differently, someone who has "something to do with the police" and who behaves as if his victimization were a necessary, even anointing attribute of his opposition activism. Instead, we have seen time and time again that overly frequent contacts with the police, and even more so imprisonment, do leave a mark on a human being. It makes it harder for him to communicate with the people "inside the structure" and limits him even in opposition activity on his own to which he is dedicated. In spite of this, some dissidents feel that the best would be if all "the others" could taste a bit of this treatment, the others who "refuse to hear about it." There is only a small step from such thinking to desperation...but let us stop here.

Let us hope that not all the dissidents will passively accept this sad situation. What should we do at this eleventh hour? In its general form, the answer sounds seemingly simple, namely, overcome as rapidly as possible the prevailing one-sidedness of our work and our isolation. We must totally abandon self-satisfied, exhibitionist intellectual behavior and avoid the sometimes self-serving--thus unproductive--confrontations with the ruling power. It will no longer be enough to exhibit the demanding, uncompromising but impractical "conscience" whose voice we heard in Havel's "Power of the Powerless." In the future we will need both conscience and common sense, the latter even more than the former.

It is not enough merely to demonstrate which side is right, who has the monopoly of truth. It is necessary to initiate and support the unification process of awareness and will, and focus on pressures which would ultimately make structural changes inevitable.

As a beginning, it will be necessary to overcome psychological barriers and establish contact with people "within the structure," those who possess a conscience and who are informed. This means the specialists and professionals who are most intimately acquainted with the economic and social crisis situation and who have up to now merely helplessly deplored it. The opposition should provide for itself and these people the same type of service which is now available to the opposition through the exile press, namely, to become a link, create a platform for mature thought and ensure publicity. Without being patronizing or arrogant, the opposition should discretely help these people to become leaders wherever and whenever they are willing and possess the necessary natural authority. Depending on local possibilities, all this should be undertaken at all accessible levels of social stratification. Let us begin in Prague and let us bear in mind that such endeavor would broaden the base of our opposition movement by a whole new dimension, while it is not important whether the opposition's "old cadres" retain their leadership positions or not.

If the opposition is able in the coming phase to rid itself of its impractical bad habits, it will gain an advantage over the state power through its ability to conduct objective and reliable analysis with which the disinforming regime propaganda will be unable to compete.



It would also be disirable in the future to focus our efforts on the workers whose spontaneous disaffection should become the most effective source of pressures on the regime. This will not be easy because as of now even the broadest base of the social pyramid still has something to lose, and because the opposition's own support base has up to now been very narrow. The workers element is little represented in it and even so these are the nonconformist young who have only experienced the unfortunately too one-sided education of the "underground." These young people, I believe, represent a rather alien body in their class, wrapped in psychological barriers similar to those which the opposition as a whole allowed to accumulate. It is to be hoped that the isolation of the past will be overcome.

It would be useful to give some thought to how and where to exert pressures when the cadaverous calm in our society begins to stir. Which priorities would be effective without immediately generating a frontal confrontation with the regime? What arguments should we use? How should changes be pursued and by what means? There are many tactical variants, the preparation of which bears no delay. Among them not without importance is the choice of slogans, even appropriate rhetoric, etc.

We should note that for such work the numerically smaller reform communist ("Eurocommunist") wing of the opposition is better equipped in practical terms than the noncommunist majority (even though the former has a handicap in other ways, as already mentioned). The reform communists possess discipline, they know the routine and their paths to people "within the structure," while long untended, can more easily be made passable. Since the relationship between the reform communists and noncommunists in our opposition is marked by both latent and overt tensions, there may be unforeseen problems in future cooperation. However, we know that whenever in history different groups pursued the same goals, they became natural allies, at least for a time. I am confident that such will be the case here. Nevertheless, differences should be anticipated in the coming phase of the movement. The noncommunist opposition which knows its reformist colleagues better than they know themselves, should conduct an open, public debate on this problem. It is not inconceivable that the two factions will eventually find ways of narrowing the gap between them.

A more detailed analysis of possible development would in this text which is intended as a mere guideline, I believe, be redundant.

And what if nothing happens tomorrow or the day after? What if our hope for a resumption of social movement in our national society comes to naught for now? What if a Russian intervention puts a long-term end to the Polish hopes, and a similar (not necessarily Russian) intervention does the same here? We can only repeat that in such a case the opposition must remain in ready reserve. In its long-term program the opposition should address itself to the resoulution of the notorious problems and subsequent healing of wounds in the Czech national spirit which, after all, is the spirit of the 19th and 20th century. One such task, in my opinion, is to overcome the enlightenment-progressive faith, that historical optimism whose negative feature is an equally cheap historical pessimism, and their common denominator, historical



determinism. If the course of history is a natural process, then--reasoning consistently--human creative initiative (including opposition activities) have no place in it because they represent nothing but foolishness doomed to failure, to capitulation to almighty nature, regardless of any pathos with which the losers may embellish their defeat.

Overcoming this myth also means to find, rather rediscover, that initiative which is not the fiction of solace, but rather effectively applied reality.

This opposition condemned to long-term incubation can be the work of only those who have not lost hope. Those who know that it is not absolutely necessary to see the results of their efforts with their own eyes. For under the wise laws of ecology, the opposition's labors are linked by invisible bonds with the labor of others, as yet unknown people with patient determination, and one day a living form may emerge from this effort whose glory will be no less because the present generation will not live to see it.

Awakening a nation is an undertaking which demands a program and toil of generations. Those who do not operate in terms of even one generation, cannot possibly pass the test.

(Written in November 1981)

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CPSL WEEKLY HONORS JAKES ON 60TH BIRTHDAY

Jakes as Party Worker

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak No 32, 12 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Vladimir Trvala, department head, CPSL Central Committee]

[Text] Comrade Milos Jakes, presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, celebrates his 60th birthday on 12 August. It is possible to say about him that he is the epitome of a communist at a time marked by the ideological, political and moral development of a new generation of communists, a mosaic of working class functionaries who, carrying on the revolutionary struggle of the Communist Party during the capitalist system, were to secure and, indeed, had secured, the laying of the foundations of socialism. They must be given credit for the continuation of Lenin's fundamentals, for the continuation of what Klement Gottwald created during the process of bolshevization of our party to prepare it for work during the difficult struggles with capitalism, fascist oppressive rule and the struggles for power of the working class and the entire working people.

The foundations of Comrade Milos Jakes' life were laid at a time and in an environment that can be characterized as a crossroad. In Gottwaldov, where he worked in one of the largest Czechoslovak factories, Bata was introducing one of the industrial exploitation systems. Europe was seeing at that time a growing class struggle, and the class consciousness of workers was increasing. This was the time of the so-called "Bohmen and Mahren" protectorate in which Hitler's executioners Heydrich and Frank unleashed terror, liquidating one communist after another, and during which the party lost almost an entire generation of brilliant leading functionaries.

The generation of young communists who joined the party when it was illegal and following the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Red Army, in other words when they were 18 to 25 years old, enjoyed only a short period to prepare themselves in terms of real life experience before they found themselves at the head of the struggles to overcome the consequences of the war, against the reactionary forces and for building socialism. Not all came out of these tests with flying colors as far as their politics, morale and willpower were concerned. Not all of them were able to come out of this period with good health. However, the nucleus of the young prewar generation of communists



educated by Klement Gottwald secured the laying of the foundations of socialism. And many of them, steeled by Leninist ideas and having sufficient experience and still full of freshness, conserved and transferred their skills--everything progressive that the working class owns. All that was created by the genius of our nations--international ideological-political unity with the Leninist party of the Soviet Union, namely, a cadre continuity, a continuity for a new generation whose task it is to carry out a socialist scientific-technical revolution and to win over to this task the entire young generation.

When we recall these broad aspects, we do not do so to honor Comrade Milos Jakes. Glorification is absolutely alien to him. We mention these broad aspects to remind ourselves what were the foundations of the communist generation of which he is a member, how this generation was formed and what greater role it played and is still expected to play in the history of our revolutionary workers movement and our nation.

Comrade Milos Jakes joined the CPCZ immediately after the liberation. From the beginning he was an active functionary of the party. After holding functions in the party basic organization, he became chairman of the United National Committee in Gottwaldov. Later, he was secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Youth Union, graduated from the Advanced School of Politics at the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow and served as a Deputy Minister of the Interior in charge of the civil administrative sector. From 1968 he was chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission. After the 15th CPCZ Congress he became secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee with responsibility for the agricultural sector, and after the 16th CPCZ Congress he became a presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee in charge of the economic sector.

Tenacity and hard work are characteristics of Comrade Jakes. They are a basis for him to understand the tasks the party entrusted him with. He is so simple that one may get the impression that he is not even aware of the significance of his high position. He does not push himself and smiles on every occasion, not only when he appears on television. He is energetic but does not raise his voice when things do not go his way. On the contrary, he may believe that when things go badly it is necessary to generate optimism and challenge. "Life has taught us sufficiently," he remarks, "how important it is to apply a method of critical analysis and demand for hard work. It is necessary to react in time to the needs of society, to solve problems in a matter-of-fact way and according to what is possible. However, not even for a minute must we allow ourselves to become complacent because of our achievements. Consequently, every party organ in its everyday managerial, organizational and educational work must see not only the achievements, which are positive, but also the obstacles that weaken us and prevent us from pressing ahead courageously."

Jakes is direct and as open as a clearly written book destined for a simple man. One can tell this from his performance at meetings and from his speeches. Going through these, one can hardly find "clear-cut" formulations. For this reason, he is difficult to quote. His speeches are not given to rhetoric or



pleasing effects that are easily understood but quickly forgotten. His speeches and articles make political sense and contain ideological elements he always deals with in a systematic way. All this stems from his life experience, from his knowledge of life and the implementation of party policy. After the November 1974 plenum, he wrote: "In spite of the successes achieved, implementation of the resolutions of the November plenum in some party organizations and the participation of leading workers have not done away with the traditional routine approach. There is still much superficiality and formalism in party work. We do not always implement sufficiently these directives by demanding more of our leading workers. It is necessary to continue to emphasize a need for fewer repetitious resolutions, orders and directives. What we need is more political-organizational work to control what we have achieved in order to correct that which was caused by our irresponsible attitude toward tasks and obligations. It happens that nobody registers mistakes and thus those who caused them remain anonymous."

Such an attitude is backed by the truth of the working class, which does not make cheap promises but expresses its historic mission: its task is the revolutionary transformation of the world and this will not happen without difficulties and obstacles. The working class is the main moving force and a guarantor. However, it is to it that all those who were entrusted by its confidence and charged with specific tasks must account. Comrade Jakes consistently sees to it that the decisive role of the masses and of the working class and the leading role of the party is implemented. He sees to it that the Leninist principles of the party's internal life, especially collective leadership, intraparty democracy, criticism and self-criticism and responsible discipline are applied.

In dealing with a political personality it is natural to ask questions concerning the evaluation of his effect on the life of society: does he work only on the level of abstract quotations, or conversely is he concerned only with practice? How able is he to predict the future, etc.? In other words, what is the "real impact" of a political functionary, his philosophical, political, organizational and character profile? The personality of Comrade Milos Jakes is characterized primarily by a deep understanding of Leninism and its creative implementation in practical life, a unity between words and deeds, a unity of conceptual everyday organizational work and his personal link with the masses. Comrade Jakes systematically repeats that a communist must believe in the righteousness of his cause. Hence his organizational link with the communist ideology: "Only the man internally certain about the correctness of Marxist-Leninist policy can orient himself correctly in the present world and adopt an active socialist stance."

Comrade Jakes, as chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission, contributed greatly to the theory and practice of party control. He is able to overcome the old notion of party control as a mere finding of negative phenomena and the meting out of penalties. For him, the basic question of control is a political attitude that strives to see under all circumstances all basic relationships and not something that registers only what is bad. In



other words, to see especially that which was new in the past or is new at present, which is progressive and on which one can build. Forethought and prognosis as a method have a role in his political activity. Hence, shortly after the crisis period he asked whether the "extensive development of production so characteristic of the previous period of building socialism is not possible in the future...the main content of the economic policy of the party must be a systematic and multifaceted improvement in the effectiveness and intensification of the economy." He sees such a process through political eyes and calls our attention to the fact that rigidity and dogmatism only help our enemy. Partisanship, a principled attitude, the effort to be flexible and to discover new bases for mastering the theories of Marxism-Leninism are a source for the systematic development of Jakes' talent, his ability to quickly understand different problems. For this reason, he was assigned by the party to work on the difficult "frontiers" of party management of agriculture and later economic issues.

Life always brings before us a complex approach to the solution of tasks. Comrade Jakes sees such a need and carries it out in practice. Theory and science are inseparable parts of this complex approach. Lenin once wrote: "Those who cannot spell out the word 'theoretician' without making a slighting grimace, and who call it a life instinct when they flatter those with a lack of education and experience, in fact show that they do not understand more pressing practical needs." And following Lenin, Comrade Jakes stated: "The building of socialism, especially in its more developed form, requires a generalization of international understanding and theoretical solution. Empty repetition of what was done before, routine work and formalism are a serious obstacle to the fulfillment of party resolutions."

It is known that Comrade Milos Jakes adopted an internationalist attitude during the crisis period. He repeatedly emphasized that our attitude toward the Soviet Union reflected internationalism. He did a lot to rally the Marxist-Leninist forces around the CPCZ Central Committee and Comrade Gustav Husak, in purging from the party revisionist and right-wing elements and in the creation of a new unity in the party. During the differentiation process, acting as chairman of the CPCZ Central Commission, he guided the control commissions in their effort to win over all those who were ideologically and politically ready for such a unity and able to contribute to it.

Basing himself on the "Lessons...", Jakes systematically pushed through and still involves us in the Leninist principles and norms of intraparty life rooted in the party statutes. He fights against the violation of the statutes, subjectivism and factional manifestations and emphasizes that party statutes are equally binding on everyone. "It is in the interest of the party, in the interest of strengthening its ideological unity and the education of its members," he wrote, "for us to systematically introduce into our lives both aspects of the principles governing the building of the party--democratic centralism and intraparty democracy. This requires an open exchange of views concerning the fulfillment of party resolutions at party meetings and the development of party criticism and self-criticism contributing to the creation of an atmosphere of involvement in the fulfillment of party resolutions as well as hostility toward shortcomings, formalism and passivity."



However, the most important characteristic of Comrade Jakes is his humanism and unshaken optimism, his faith in socialism, which he spelled out in Prague on the occasion of the 34th anniversary of the Victorious February: "Our further path forward will not be without difficulties and obstacles. This is shown in the problems with which we struggle. However, it would be a mistake to lose sight of our perspective because of these problems and not to see the great and glorious path our working people traversed under the leadership of the party, in fraternal unity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the results we have achieved in all spheres in the life of our society.

"We have an unswerving faith in the strength of our Marxist-Leninist ideas, in the power of socialism and the creative and selfless work of our people. Hence, we look to the future with every confidence."

#### Quotations From Jakes

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak No 32, 12 Aug 82 p 3

[Text] There were and still are in our country people who understand or present as a socialist style of life what are basically petit bourgeois norms of social life. Consumerism is a typical illustration of such petit bourgeois notions. The people who are prisoners of such a shallow, superficial and basically selfish and spiritually empty attitude to life naturally suffer from internal conflicts, dissatisfaction, disillusionment, etc., and occasionally they are at variance with socialism. - NOVA DOBA, 23 Jun 71

Our goal is to continually influence people's actions with a socialist morality based on a socialist attitude to work and people and active participation in the effort for the socialist development of our country and the strengthening of world peace. This cannot be achieved without an open and decisive struggle against foreign ideologies alien to socialism, against petit bourgeois mentality and narrow consumerism, against tendencies to live on the back of society without contributing anything to it, against parasitism, indifference, greed, selfishness and individualism, against all violations of labor discipline, against the effort to live in accordance with a slogan disseminated by right-wing forces to the effect that "he who does not steal cheats his family," against the violations of socialist legality and comradely relations among the people--in other words, a struggle against all the spillovers from the past that were prominently reactivated and strengthened by the destruction of socialist values in the people's consciousness in 1968. - ZIVOT STRANY No 24, 1971

Criticism requires a very responsible attitude on the part of the critic toward the party and the person criticized. We must use criticism when needed--in other words, while mistakes are still not too big. Timely comradely criticism at membership meetings, reference to shortcomings and their causes help those comrades who commit mistakes. We must decisively get rid of the notion according to which it is necessary to expose each criticized comrade to cadre, disciplinary or other measures. Incorrect practice is



responsible for such notions. The opportunistic ignoring of small mistakes encourages the appearance of serious shortcomings that necessarily call for disciplinary, cadre and other measures. Such practice then transforms criticism from an instrument of help and education to a degree of repression. Hence, it is antiparty and harmful. - RUDE PRAVO, 13 Jun 71

Without consciousness there cannot be party discipline and without party discipline consciousness loses its ability to positively contribute toward the socialist transformation of society....Mutual interdependence of both aspects seems so obvious that one sometimes loses sight of it, to the detriment of all of us. More than ever before we have become aware that real conscious party discipline cannot be based on anything but a deep ideological belief that can be applied and manifested in only one way, namely, an active and disciplined participation in the fulfillment of party resolutions. - ZIVOT STRANY No 4, 1973

Justification of misdemeanors and violation of state discipline cannot be permitted. Such an attitude ultimately leads to compromises, weakens our insistence on high standards and blunts criticism and the possibility of improving things. In addition, it contributes to the appearance of difficulties not only in the fulfillment of economic tasks but also weakens the education of workers toward conscious discipline in the fulfillment of tasks and a just relationship toward socialist ownership, etc. - PRAVDA, 30 Nov 77

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VATICAN, 'CLERICALISM,' ATTACKED AS ANTICOMMUNIST

Prague NOVA MYSL in Slovak No 7-8, Jun 82 pp 59-64

[Article by Jaroslav Celko, Institute of Scientific Atheism, Academy of Arts and Sciences, Bratislava]

[Excerpt] Experience shows that world imperialism, in its effort to turn the clock back to capitalism in the countries of the socialist community, has started exporting counterrevolution. At the same time it mobilizes antisocialist forces in those domestic situations which seem appropriate for an open attack against the socialist system.

Clerics are part of this activity by foreign hostile forces and domestic opponents of socialism. In addition to sharing the general characteristics common to all counterrevolutionary groups, the clergy have one more characteristic: they use religion and in certain situations even church institutions for the dark goals of counterrevolution. Such trends were visible in our country in 1968. It was Comrade Vasil Bilak who made the point at that time when he stated at a plenum of the CPSL Central Committee: "There are many questions and questionmarks surrounding the activity of the churches. Even the CPSL Central Committee is receiving many letters in which not only communists but noncommunists, too, express uneasiness over the increased activity of the churches and a certain apprehension, not because of the latter's religious activity but because of the churches' efforts to become a political force.

In pursuing their goals within the framework of a counterrevolution, the clergy try to use both church organs and other methods. In our case, there was an effort to return an anticommunist role to certain political parties. Preparation of "new" programs as well as efforts to enlarge membership bases by including people with obvious antisocialist sentiments clearly illustrate this.

In addition, the clergy try to build new levers and instruments of power. In our country this was seen in the work of the Council or Renewal which was formed with the participation of high church dignitaries and which, as stated in the "Lessons from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society" in the period following the 13th Congress, "was acquiring a rather



large mass base, especially in Slovakia, in the services of combative political clericalism."

The clergy chose a similar tactic in the Polish People's Republic, too. Learning a lesson from the defeats of the "cobrethren" in the Hungarian People's Republic in 1956 and in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Polish clergy adopted a more refined and dishonest path. They did not propose to recreate an old political party as did the clergy under the leadership of Cardinal Mindszenty in the Hungarian People's Republic. They did not even opt creating a religious association which in time could be transformed into a clerical political party as our clergy did. In a subtle way and with demagoguery in the development of which the clergy are masters, they took on the role of "trade unionists." They created the so-called Solidarity, i.e., ostensibly a trade union movement, whose purpose, however, was to fulfill the role of a clerical political force, a fact which was kept secret from rank-and-file believers.

In the development of their counterrevolutionary activity, the clergy can be quite flexible. Cardinal Mindszenty "showed his cards" too soon and openly called for a return to capitalism and a complete restoration of rule by capitalists and landlords. In Czechoslovakia, the clergy proceeded more cautiously. They did not push themselves forward to "lead" the counterrevolution. They waited for the formation of other "troops" of counterrevolutionary forces and gradually broadened the reactionary character of their demands aiming at the overthrow of the socialist system and the restoration of a capitalist system. In the Polish People's Republic, they applied Jesuit tactics. At first they spoke about "improving" socialism in order to later adopt an open call for its overthrow and at the same time they searched, through the so-called Solidarity, for a broader base in plants and among peasants.

World imperialism has failed in its aim to bring counterrevolution to a victorious end in every single country of the socialist community.

We are not naive and we are aware that as long as there is capitalism and its great economic, military, etc., potential, one must expect the efforts of the monopoly bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes to try to damage the countries of the socialist community. Clericalism, because of its ideological relation to religion, will remain one of the channels the imperialist circles use and will use in the future for their own aims as regards communism and socialism.

As stated at the 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee in March 1980, there is no fertile soil for clericalism in our country. Also the attempts to import clericalism into Czechoslovakia from abroad are doomed to fail. For this reason, imperialism today uses especially the ideological aspects of clericalism and, through mass media, tourism, etc., seeks to weaken the moral and political unity of our citizens.

As far as our country is concerned, one must expect some activity from Catholic, Protestant and Jewish clericalism. From the quantitative point of



view, the most important is Catholic clericalism. To this is added the fact that, in relation to overall changes in the international situation, we are witnessing a strengthening of an anticommunist accent in Vatican activity. This is illustrated--in addition to other facts--in the strenuous activity of the present pope, John Paul II. He does not miss a single opportunity to condemn Marxist-Leninist teaching. On his trips throughout the world, which he undertook with great energy especially at the beginning, he has been doing everything in his power to undermine the revolutionary movement and to directly or indirectly attack the countries of real socialism. When he lacks sufficient and suitable arguments, he helps himself with fabricated theses according to which there is no religious freedom in our country and so forth. He has taken numerous steps ostensibly aiming at intensifying religious life. The implementation of these steps would, however, mean a revival of clericalism in our country which would naturally have strong anticommunist undertones. Pope John Paul II shows similar activity in relation with other socialist countries. In his efforts to weaken their position and influence as a group, he echoes the ideas of a "Christian Europe" and strongly interferes--in a negative sense--with the "Eastern" policy of the Vatican.

Certain domestic church circles with clerical tendencies have come forward with numerous demands. For example, they come with a thesis of "recognition" of pluralism of ideas. In addition to that, they come with a demand for broadening and strengthening the activity of the churches which does not correspond at all to the condition of our people (a large part of our people have freed themselves from the influence of religion and the churches) nor to the profile of contemporary believers. There are efforts to expand the operation of the churches among the young to the detriment of the socialist state and social organizations. Church dignitaries of the Catholic Church, inspired by the present pope, have adopted a negative attitude toward the participation of priests in the struggle for peace through their own association, "Pacem in Terris." In certain Protestant religious societies we witness the growth of unlimited pacifism. Such pacifism, at a time when world imperialism headed by the ruling group in the United States is feverishly arming itself, actually weakens the struggle for peace and only serves the interests--regardless of whether those responsible are aware of it or not--of the warmongering forces of the contemporary world. When putting forward these and other demands which are characterized by clerical aspects, church circles often use functionaries from the ranks of laymen (in the Protestant churches and religious societies) or activists from the ranks of believers (in the Catholic Church). Some of them are fully aware of what they are doing. Others may be prisoners of a belief that they are dealing only with problems of satisfying religious needs and fail to see the real intents of the efforts of which they are executors. Consequently, we must adopt a differentiated attitude in evaluating this activity by laymen, while, overall, we cannot approve of such attitudes by the church.

The revolutionary workers movement and the countries of the socialist community have had great experience with clericalism and its anticommunist activity. In the interest of strengthening real socialism and expanding socialist revolution in the world, it is necessary to uncover clerical



anticommunism and strenuously fight it. This is a task for the entire world communist movement. At the same time, the socialist countries--because of the real possibilities at their disposal--occupy in this respect the most important place. We, too, have taken a decisive stand against clerical anticommunism of any denomination (Christian, Islamic, Jewish, etc) and its effort to damage any part of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist world and in every country of real socialism.

Many facts show that clerical anticommunism is paying great attention to our socialist country. Consequently we must, in addition to participation in the struggle within a wider context, pay due attention to clericalism as relates to our domestic needs.

The struggle against clericalism and its anticommunist activity is nothing new for us. Our communist party carried on this struggle, in cooperation with other progressive forces, during the pre-Munich bourgeois democratic republic. It did the same thing during fascist rule when there was a clericfascist people's regime in Slovakia. The balance of our struggles with clericalism shows a plus side for us. Now we are facing a struggle of different dimensions which is carried on through other means than was the case under capitalist (or clericfascist) conditions, during the period of pre-February fights between the progressive forces headed by communists and the reactionary forces during the 1948-1949 period or during the period of the open reappearance of counterrevolutionary forces in 1968-1969. The situation is different on both sides. We can weigh it and, without underestimating the possibilities of world imperialism and of certain religious circles related to it, we can state that clerical anticommunism will not find fertile soil in our country. And this not even if certain foreign church centers and certain domestic church circles, "encouraged" by the existing tension in international relations, attempt to use more actively the old-new weapon of clerical anticommunism.

The guarantee of our self-confidence in this respect lies in the entire concrete reality of our socialist society. Naturally, we deal with a totality of factors of which most are of general character and scope. Some others, however, are specific and are intimately linked to the above problems.

One of the more serious aspects is the fact that most of our believers by far--among other things also because of their own bitter experience with clericalism--are not willing to accept its reactionary ideology and policies. In spite of old scary defamations directed at communism by church organs and other clerical forces or institutions, the present attack against communism by Pope John Paul II and other church representatives, our believers in their overwhelming majority are not willing to play the role of anticommunist instrument in any form and shape, including clerical. On the contrary, socialism is close to them. Even if they continue to hold a religious world view, they see in religion the fulfillment of their innermost desires, aspirations and needs. The April 1980 plenum of the CPSL Central Committee rightly stated that the "overwhelming majority of our believers internally accept socialism and link their lives with it because it



has become firmly anchored in their minds as the most progressive and humane social system. For this reason, our believers take active part in the construction efforts of our people."

The positive stance of believers toward the policy of our communist party and their active participation in building real socialism are to a great extent motivated by the fact that our socialist state has found a proper relationship toward religion, churches and believers. For the first time in the modern history of our society, we have succeeded in eliminating religious intolerance. All religions and churches are equal. There is no privileged or oppressed religion; there are no differences in the position of individual churches. They all have equal rights and equal duties. Our socialist state consistently observes the principle according to which religion is a private affair of each and every citizen. Believers have the same rights and duties as atheists. This was also emphasized at the 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee in March 1980, when Comrade V. Bilak stated: "Our socialist state gives to each and every citizen all possibilities to realize his creative forces and civic rights regardless of his religious persuasion. It appreciates the active participation of believers in socialist construction and has high respect for the progressive clergy of all legally operating churches, those who are close to our people and show positive attitude toward the policy of our state and its efforts to develop the fatherland and secure world peace."

Our communist party tries consistently to realize the demand posed by V. I. Lenin for a firm and permanent union with other working people. Within this framework the party also views its relationship with believers. It systematically pursues efforts to explain its policy to believers, to persuade them to accept this policy and to win them over for the implementation of this policy alongside communists. Each and every communist has a duty to see in an honest believing worker, devoted to the building of socialism, an equal partner, a comrade in arms for the realization of broad changes. At the same time, we communists are not taking a neutral attitude toward the world view of our coworkers and cocitizens. In the interest of further broadening and strengthening the political-moral unity of all members of our socialist society, we present to them our world view, our ideology. We make no secret of the fact that our goal is to win them over to a scientific understanding of the world, society and man. We try to succeed in this respect through persuasion. We also proceed patiently and with sensitivity. The correctness of such an attitude, which combines the application of Marxist-Leninist principles governing the relations toward believers with a demand to fight for economic and political as well as spiritual liberation of the people, is confirmed in practice and by positive results.

Most believers respect our scientifically justified and honorable attitude toward them. This is one of the significant prerequisites for their helping us to make the plans of clerical anticommunism meet determined and principled resistance from our entire society now and in the future.

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CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CSSR

Czechoslovak Clergy Split

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 7 Aug 82 p 2

[Article: "'Is Prayer a Threat to Society?'" ]

[Text] In Czechoslovakia both can be found: a state church and a church persecuted by the state--and both of them are Roman Catholic. Apparently even the Vatican is unable to get the cooperation of the "Pacem in terris" association of priests, whose members are gradually but surely taking over all important church offices in the country. On the other hand, there are priests, teachers of religion and particularly members of religious orders who are restricted in their ministry, are under surveillance and forbidden to exercise their profession. In April Comrade Kacer of the State Church Office in Bratislava announced that the "raids of the nests of Vatican espionage--the monasteries"--had been successful. The sentencing of Jan Barta, a Franciscan father, by the appellate court must be interpreted accordingly. Although he is seriously ill, he will have to serve 12 months in jail after all, although FRG Minister of Foreign Affairs Genscher advocated his release from prison in the fall of 1980--he succeeded at that time. The central office of the Franciscan Mission in Bonn submitted to the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU the text of Jan Barta's final words before he was sentenced. The most important passages are reproduced below:

Dear Senate, in 1952, following the centralization of the orders and a long period of detention--most of the time was spent in solitary confinement--in the prison of Prague-Ruzyně, I was sentenced to 20 years in jail because of my spiritual activities in young people's groups--allegedly, however, it was because of high treason. I spent 16 years in various labor camps.



When my sentence was removed from the criminal records in 1968, the courts apologized to me. Since I had suffered injustice personally and for such a long period of time, I have become very sensitive when it comes to obeying laws.

A traffic accident in 1969 caused a brain concussion, a broken pelvis, a broken lower jaw and a dislocated hip joint. A year later I had a serious attack of congestive heart failure. In 1978 I contracted angina pectoris, and since then I have been bedridden at times.

Because I was no longer able to carry out my duties as administrator of the Deanery of Vrchlabi, I moved to Reichenberg, where I stayed until 1977, enjoying my work as assistant pastor among the sisters of the nursing homes in Vratislavice and Cesky Dub.

When I summarize everything that has happened to me during these last 3 years, unfortunately I have to admit that not many things proceed in accordance with our laws, which are basically good. I am on trial not because of a proven violation of some law but because some of my activities are not in agreement with the explanations to article 178 of the penal code (it concerns "interference with state supervision of churches," the editor). The second important problem is the lack of knowledge in matters of faith and the liturgy on the part of the examining judge, which has been apparent from the beginning of the investigation. Ensuing problems led to many misunderstandings.

In my opinion, the biggest reason for the legal and moral questionableness is the fact that several versions of the explanations of article 178, which were composed by the State Secretariat for Church Affairs, are not accessible to the public. Most of the time the secretariat does not introduce the explanations until the proceedings are already in progress.

I was only familiar with one edition of the explanations by the State Secretariat for Church Affairs; it had been sent to all orders in 1968. But this edition was very benevolent. During the course of the years significant changes were made in important points. These publicly inaccessible interpretations are not only disturbing to the clergy and the believers but also to security organs, procurators and courts. They are also the reason why honorable citizens who only know the older version can today be legally persecuted, although they are not aware of having violated the penal code. And this uncertainty about the interpretation of article 178--which has existed for many years--can be called a persecution of the believers, because they place the people in a state of fear.

Or is it really necessary in the CSSR to have the permission of the state for a private prayer with fellow residents? Not at all, according to the law on the material security of churches.

I am asking the court for a clarification on this point of the charge. In other words: Which article states that it is forbidden to pray together privately or discuss the spiritual life?



Any thief would certainly object with all his might to being sentenced on the basis of an expert explanation by a ministry rather than on the basis of a precisely interpreted article of the criminal code, carefully considering all the circumstances surrounding his crime.

Thus, the above-mentioned explanation is nearing a trend of illegally causing the extinction of a few thousand men and women of religious orders who to date have been living within the framework of the Catholic Church.

In addition to the older brothers and sisters, there are also younger persons who were lonely and found a home with our monastic families (We have two here). Between 1968 and 1972 they decided to accept the ideals of the orders. And when they now fulfill the duties of their order, it is only a de facto tolerated condition. The youngest one among them was even advised against taking a permanent vow to the order by Father Provincial--considering the difficult situation of the Catholic Church in our country. As citizens we are helping one another intensively. But everyone is free to leave our home at any time. There are no restrictions on his freedom.

To establish the substance of a criminal act it must be a threat to society. But how could we threaten or damage a society which statistically consists of more than 50 percent believers? By using our legal rights, by praying during a private worship service in our own apartment. Talks about self-improvement or the private study of religious questions in our spare time? My conscience makes me realize the need of calling attention to all these things before the Senate begins its deliberations.

#### Official Attacks Vatican

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 14 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by V.M.: "Prague Attacks Vatican"]

[Text] Vienna, 13 Aug--In one of the strongest attacks that have been leveled against the Catholic Church and the Vatican for some time by a communist regime, Hruza, the director of the State Church Office, accused the Vatican of tolerating the "subversive activities of many Polish priests." While the Vatican wanted to ban "real" peace organizations, it did not object to groups of priests who were actively supporting the independent "Solidarity" union in Poland. One has to ask oneself, the director of the Czechoslovak church office said, whether the Vatican wanted to tolerate only those organizations of priests which were fighting against socialism, while it was banning the activities of those which supported peace and progress.

Hruza bases his attacks on the allegation that "a few cardinals in Rome" want to ban the "Pacem in terris" organization of priests in Czechoslovakia. Many people consider this organization a continuation of the former communist group of "priests of peace," at least--according to informed observers--priests friendly to the regime are becoming more and more influential in the organization.



Hruza is upset about the fact that "a few cardinals" in Rome issued a papal letter in March, banning the participation of priests in so-called peace movements. The Czechoslovak functionary is obviously aiming at Pope John Paul II personally, who announced this position at that time in the encyclical letter. Furthermore, Hruza is accusing the Vatican of retaining the secret bishops which had been appointed at one time. The relations between Prague and the Vatican, Hruza said, depend, first of all, on a "realistic position" of Vatican diplomats. Hruza combined his attacks on the Vatican with the statement that total religious freedom exists in Czechoslovakia.

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OFFICIAL SAYS POPE'S DECREE INTERFERES WITH CSSR AFFAIRS

Prague NOVA MYSL in Slovak No 6, 6 May 82 pp 83-85

[Excerpt from an article by Jan Skoda, head of a CPSL Central Committee Department]

[Text] The 14th CPCZ Congress emphasized that the basic task of our ideological activity is to guide people toward class awareness and hostility to bourgeois ideology. The struggle for Marxist-Leninist thinking of the people is indivisible from the principled struggle against right-wing opportunism, all types of revisionism, nationalism as well as political clericalism which, as shown in the "Lessons from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society in the Period Following the 13th CPCZ Congress," played the role of an ally of right-wing opportunism and was one of the most active elements among the antisocialist forces.

Hence, scientific-atheistic propaganda is an inseparable part of the party's ideological work. Its main task is to disseminate and strengthen the scientific materialist world-view as a decisive factor in the struggle of socialism against foreign ideology, namely, religion. One must not underestimate the adaptation of religion to new conditions, the existing level of education and culture of our people, the searching for and application of new forms and methods of the work of our enemies in this area.

This naturally places high demand on our ideological work and also influences our attitude toward the development of ideological work. For us the point of departure is a scientifically performed analysis of the world-view structure of our society. Patience and deliberation in respect to ideological influence, tact in respect to a dialogue and toleration characterize our attitude toward believers who, in their overwhelming majority, have accepted, on the basis of their own experience or will accept the achievements and advantages of real socialism and thus have accepted socialism as a more equitable social system. They understand that the political program of our communist party expresses the interests of all working people. This motivates the active participation of believers in the fulfillment of our development tasks. It is a basis for establishing and further strengthening the unity of nonbelievers and believers--in other words, the moral-political unity of our people. This is enhanced by the fact that the socialist state views believers as full-fledged citizens, respects their religious feeling and creates for them all the prerequisites for satisfying their religious needs.



True, one cannot ignore the fact that in the ideological struggle which is becoming sharper and sharper on the international scale there are also clerical forces which would like to use our people's religious feeling to fight socialism and progress. These forces receive full support and help from international religious centers, especially from the Vatican. This is illustrated by the most recent encyclical of Pope John Paul II entitled LABOREM EXERCENS. This document is obviously characterized by fear on the part of the Pope because of the growth in strength, influence and potentials of real socialism. According to this document socialism is possible, but not in the form of a social formulation of a natural and objective historical development but as an extreme and extraordinary departure from man's history. Consequently, the Pope appeals to preserve capitalism including the social injustice, oppression, etc., which it brings to life. Today, when peace-loving forces of the entire world are tirelessly fighting for world peace, one cannot understand the decision of Pope John Paul II to prohibit the clergy in the CSSR, under the threat of religious sanctions, to take part in the peace movement, in the realization of the most human goals of mankind. This decision is a blatant interference in the internal affairs of our country because it denies our clergy, who are Czechoslovak citizens, the right to get involved in the peace program of the government of the National Front promised to them in the Law on Defending Peace No 165/1950 of the Law Code.

The struggle against the hostile activity of political clericalism which tries to use the religious feelings of believers for hostile activity against our socialist system is viewed by us as a necessary front in the struggle for future victories of socialism. This was underlined by Comrade Jozef Lenart when he stated in his report to the CPSL Central Committee delivered at the CPSL Congress in March 1981: "Leaning on the experience of our people, its social interest, its patriotic feeling, its unity and progressive peace efforts, we will decisively face these old-new diversions regardless of their form."

The qualitative reconstruction of the management of ideological work based on much higher demands regarding its effectiveness and persuasiveness as well as the breadth of its operation, requires us to exert operative and well thought-out demands--taking into consideration the specificity of ideological work--of a higher nature on the effect of all instruments which affect the thinking of masses of the working people and all citizens.

Political-educational sectors of National Front social organizations which implement political-educational work within their differentiated environment cannot carry out their ideological-educational tasks independently, in an isolated way, without cooperation or in a haphazard manner. The principle of the leading role of the party, the management and guidance of ideological activity from one single ideological-political center is indispensable.

When we talk about a complex approach toward planning and managing ideological processes, we have in mind in the first place a coordinated and harmonized attitude of social organizations and their facilities in order to improve their work in full accordance with the mission, concrete tasks and observance of the specifics of ideological-educational work. Mutual overlapping of



political-educational work, stereotypes, the same interpretation and argumentation as well as the choice of problems which fail to respect specific and concrete situations lead to formalism, lack of interest and often, especially in the case of young people, to undesirable reactions and attitudes.

The Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the CPCZ Central Committee has plenty of positive experience. It discusses plans of political-educational and mass-political work of social organizations and civil-administrative sector of the Slovak Ministry of the Interior. This discussion is conducted by a selected member of the department and with the participation of leading functionaries from the communist ranks of these organizations. This approach made it possible to improve the principle of the aggregate and to emphasize the main ideological aims for the foreseeable future already from the content of the resolutions of the 15th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee as well as from the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress.

A collectively creative and meaningful discussion of ideological aims did not leave anybody in doubt about the inadmissibility of self-satisfaction, routine, formalism, dogmatic insistence on old-fashioned practices of the management, methods and forms of political-educational work. As far as ideological work is concerned, the words of Comrade Jozef Lenart spoken at the recent CPSL Congress carry weight: "...the tasks of building a developed socialist society can be solved only through further improvement of the leading role of the CPCZ and its operational arm, namely, the CPSL.... We must develop our understanding, see the future, and improve the effectiveness of our work. It is still valid that the power of our party lies in its unity and ability to work, in the confidence expressed in it by the support of the masses."

1277

CSO: 2400/362



'PLURALIST DEMOCRACY,' OTHER 'BOURGEOIS SOCIALISM CONCEPTS' ATTACKED

Swiss Daily's Analysis

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 19 Aug 82 p 4

['Abroad' feature article, signed 'sk,' datelined Berlin, 17 August: "GDR Ideologues Between Ingratiating and Distancing Oneself--Afraid of Bourgeois Socialism." A translation of the East Berlin HORIZONT article cited below follows this analysis]

[Text] In its most recent edition, the weekly paper HORIZONT, which is closely connected with the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs, discusses in detail the problem of "bourgeois socialism concepts." The statements on this topic clearly show the dilemma of GDR politics toward socialist movements in the West. While on one hand the SED leadership is making an effort to use for its own goals political forces in the West which represent socialist ideas, on the other hand it is careful to distance itself from them ideologically. The dilemma of ingratiation and demarcation is like a red thread moving through all fundamental statements in HORIZONT on the topic of "socialist state power from the viewpoint of bourgeois distortions."

Solidarization With 'Peace Movement'

The policy of ingratiation, above all, is aimed at the "worldwide peace movement"--which partially reflects socialist ideas--with the help of which the East hopes to thwart the NATO counterarming resolution. In this connection, HORIZONT declares that in spite of "antisocialist campaigns that have been organized worldwide" and in spite of "hate-filled tirades" against socialism by leading U.S. and NATO politicians, the number of movements is considerable which have decided in favor of socialism as a future way of life for the nations. The variety of socialism concepts is, above all, an expression of the magnetism and attraction of the ideas of socialism.

At the same time, however, the dangers are pointed out of the infiltration of the socialist ideas of these movements which are irreconcilable with the orthodox Soviet communism. Behind the variety of socialism concepts there is also an attempt by certain bourgeois forces to exploit demagogically the watchword of socialism. The remark clearly indicates the concern of the GDR leadership that attempts of this kind are aimed at "disorienting the workers in their struggle and influencing them against the real socialism" and that the ideas of a liberal socialism, as propagated by the socialist movements in the West, may spread to the population.



Against this background, a call has been issued to be more vigilant ideologically. During the present ideological struggle one is not only facing the front of the open enemies of socialism who "malign the real socialism, calling it evil and bad in general." Rather, simultaneously the dispute must continue with those forces that propagate socialism as the future goal of society but which also interject a utopian and, above all, anti-communist character.

#### Repercussion on East German Population

This remark points to the fact that attempts by the GDR leadership of ingratiating themselves with the peace movement and political forces which represent socialist ideas in conjunction with peace discussions in the West apparently were not without effect on the population. It seems that even the question of private ownership of production means--taboo for orthodox communism--is not excluded from discussions. HORIZONT comments that current bourgeois socialism concepts proceed from the idea that the change in ownership of production means, in other words, the removal of capitalist and the creation of socialist ownership of production means is no longer required or is only of third-rate importance. A socialism on the basis of capitalist production conditions, however, is "a monster," even if it is adorned with beautifully sounding words like "liberal" or "humane" socialism.

The statements in HORIZONT reveal that the GDR leadership is fully aware of the fact that any attempt of exploiting for their own goals the peace movement and the political forces of the West which are propagating their own kind of socialism involves a problematic ideological tightrope act of considerable difficulty.

#### GDR Political Journal's Critique

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 15 No 33, 1982 (signed by press 9 Aug 82)  
pp 8-9

[Article by Prof Dr Eberhard Fromm: "Between 'Leviathan' and 'Open Society'-- Socialist State Power in the Context of Bourgeois Forgeries"]

[Text] The socialist state as the embodiment of the political power of the working class and all other workers in socialism is one of the main targets of bourgeois criticism, distortion and misrepresentation of the real socialism. In addition to open attacks, efforts are increasing within the framework of bourgeois socialism concepts to "neutralize" or "pluralize" and thus weaken the socialist state power. A few of the current bourgeois forgeries and "recommendations" are subjected to criticism by the author in three contributions, which we are publishing in a loose order.



In times like these, when leading imperialist politicians revile socialism as an "aberration of history" and when they would like to negate it as a way of life for the nations, the crudest and most militant forms of anti-communism are flourishing. When a U.S. secretary of state can declare publicly--like Mark Palmer did on 1 June 1982 in Brussels--one should "not accept the idea that once a country turned to communism, it is lost forever," it reflects a crusade ideology and the "rollback" strategy of old times. Whoever proclaims publicly "that the detente was a failure at the expense of the West"--according to recent joint deliberations by the U.S. Institute for Foreign Policy and the FRG Konrad-Adenauer Foundation in Washington--wants to establish an alibi for himself and embark on the dangerous course of confrontation and arms buildup.

These massive attacks by leading imperialist circles in political, economic and ideological areas could give the impression that the forces of social progress, of socialism and peace have been put on the defensive. The intent is not to underestimate the dangerous intensification of the international situation which, above all, has been provoked by the United States and it is not to close one's eyes to the worrisome escalation of conflicts in many parts of the world; still, it must be said clearly that we are dealing with hectic reactions by the most aggressive forces of imperialism to the intensifying process of internal crises in capitalism, to the developments in the world of socialism, in national freedom movements and, last but not least, the worldwide freedom movement. "To date there has never been a movement of such proportions in the history of the struggle for peace," was the assessment during the fourth session of the SED Central Committee. "Due to its enormous political and social base it has achieved a new, higher quality."<sup>1</sup>

Imperialism must react to all of these developments. But even the strongest anticommunist attacks cannot overcome the historic defensive in which imperialism finds itself.

Clear proof that all the efforts of recent years by reactionary politicians and ideologues did not reach their goal is the fact that the ideas of socialism not only retained their power of attraction but that it could be expanded. In spite of massive anti-Soviet propaganda, in spite of the militant anti-communism of recent years, in spite of the slanderous exploitation of the events in the People's Republic of Poland, in spite of antisocialist campaigns that have been organized worldwide for the spiritual manipulation of the broad masses and for ideological diversion--socialism is the declared goal, the longing and the hope of the most diverse political and social groups in all parts of the world. In spite of hate-filled tirades against socialism by U.S. and NATO politicians, many movements adopt a program that favors socialism as the future way of life for their nations.

Of course, there are still big differences between the programmatic adoption of socialism and its realization. It is also not surprising that conceptions of socialism include various regional, economic, religious and other reasons and motivations. Quite frequently such positions are held by the petty bourgeoisie and by democratic and anti-imperialist forces; frequently socialist



attitudes are not based on Marxism-Leninism but on a number of views, including Marxist attitudes. The variety of socialism concepts, however, is foremost and above all an expression of the growing magnetism and attraction of the ideas of socialism; of course, one must also be aware of the fact that this variety, when compared to real socialism and to Marxism-Leninism, contains many levels, differences and also disparities.

Hidden behind the variety of socialism concepts, however, is also an attempt by certain bourgeois forces to exploit demagogically the watchword of socialism to disorient the workers in their struggle and influence them against the real socialism. During the current ideological struggle we are not only facing the front of the open enemies of socialism who malign the real socialism, calling it evil and bad, who want to destroy it and glorify capitalism, their "positive" goal. At the same time the struggle must be conducted with those forces which propagate socialism as the future goal of society, but which also interject a utopian and, above all, anticommunist character.

Attempts at extolling a bourgeois socialism are not new. Marx and Engels already characterized the nature of such a "bourgeois socialism" in the "Communist Party Manifesto," according to which a part of the bourgeoisie wants to "remove social inequities to guarantee the continuation of the bourgeois society." These forces recommend to the working class an improvement in their material living conditions. "When it recommends a change in material living conditions, however, this kind of socialism does not advocate the elimination of bourgeois production conditions--which is only possible through revolutionary means--but it means administrative improvements which are carried out on the basis of existing production conditions, in other words, there are no changes in the relationship between capital and wage labor....<sup>2</sup>

#### Tactics of Exploiting Ideologues

This goal is also pursued by today's bourgeois socialism concepts, whatever the label may be. In the process they proceed from the concept that the change in ownership of production means, i.e., the removal of capitalist and the creation of socialist ownership of production means, is no longer required or is only a task of third-rate importance. Thus, by degrading the central question of the revolutionary change of society and by calling it a subordinated problem which is no longer timely, socialism can be discussed often and in great detail: The necessary basis for it, however, is not to be provided.

A Socialism based on capitalist production conditions, however, is a monster, even if it is adored with beautifully sounding words like "liberal" or "humane" socialism. The widely propagated Swedish efforts, for instance, of developing a "functional socialism" have produced no changes whatsoever in the capitalist ownership conditions in spite of decades of "efforts."

When looking at programmatic explanations, theoretical concepts and practical actions of the last 60 years, it becomes clear: Only where the economic power of the bourgeoisie was consistently crushed, only where the ownership conditions were overturned in a revolutionary process, only there a real socialist social order was and is being developed and established on a mighty, independent economic basis.



It is also of little use when bourgeois socialism concepts say alot about moral and humane claims. Economic requirements cannot be replaced with ethical maxims. The attempt of glorifying socialism as a beautiful moral goal which, however, cannot really be attained, is an old tactic used by exploiting ideologues to direct the longings of the working masses for another, just and humane society into the distant future or another world.

When it comes to bourgeois socialism models, they are not just illusions as such, stated lightly. The issue is also not the demagogic exploitation of slogans with the intent of misleading the people. Rather, we are dealing with well-aimed concepts that are antisocialist and counterrevolutionary in nature. It is particularly evident from the attitude toward the state and toward political power.

This question, which is crucial to any serious social theory, openly reveals the bourgeois character of these attitudes. A 'socialism' is being propagated which makes use of the bourgeois state and the bourgeois democracy, in other words, a "socialism," the political power of which is in the hands of the bourgeois state apparatus. Even the idea is a paradox that it could lead to socialism, unless it includes "administrative improvements" that were mentioned by Marx and Engels.

#### Claim to Power by Bourgeoisie

It is not an accident that the question concerning the importance and the position of the state and of political power receive high priority in bourgeois recommendations of socialism. Bourgeois theoreticians started to ponder these ideas quite some time ago, wondering what would be the best way to lead a bourgeois society. The English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) wrote a well-known book about the political commonwealth, entitled "Leviathan," the mythical dragon which was used as the symbol of big world powers and described as a dominating, punishing monster. With merciless openness Hobbes outlines the necessary practices a state has to employ in a society where the "law of the jungle" is in effect and everybody is "fighting for survival." In his opinion there is nothing objectionable about such a frank presentation, since he is living under the illusion that the bourgeois society is the society for all citizens. And even political thinkers like John Locke (1632-1704) or Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)--when interpreting social and state issues--proceed from the hope that the bourgeois revolution represents the liberation of all people and that the bourgeois state is therefore the most just state possible.

When it became clear, however, that the antagonistic conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat became the dominant conflict of society, that now the ruling bourgeoisie had to fight against the working masses to preserve its political power, one could no longer afford the frankness of the early bourgeois thinkers. Being in the possession of power, the bourgeoisie did everything possible to sanctify it like the feudal rulers had done before them. Thus the mythos was created of the "power in itself"--anthropologically interpreted power--which transferred the political phenomenon of power to the "nature" of man. Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) supplied the key word with his concept of the "will to power," which was eagerly seized and developed by all later generations of bourgeois power theoreticians.



The development of imperialism led to a new glorification of power and the strong state flourished anew. Now, however, it was the unmasked claim of the imperialist bourgeoisie to be able to rule unconditionally and absolutely all other classes and levels of society. This claim to power did not remain restricted to the native country, but it was expanded beyond the borders; imperialist power thinking seized the world and motivated the struggle for its division under the major imperialist powers.

#### Old Illusions New Polished

The outbreak of the general crisis of capitalism and the development of the first worker and peasant state in the form of the Soviet Union forced the bourgeois politicians and ideologues to come up with a "new" tune. It was no longer possible to win the masses of the people by openly announcing imperialist interests. Consequently the effort increased steadily to conceal as cleverly as possible the political domination by the monopoly bourgeoisie, this dictatorship of a small minority over the masses of the people.

Thus, the old illusions of freedom and democracy were polished anew to be able to hide behind it the claims to power. Only now and then--for instance, in the naked power thoughts of Carl Schmitt and his friend-foe concept or the current conservative attacks on the allegedly too soft social "welfare state"--it is apparent that and how the ruling circles of the monopoly capital see their state and intend to use their power if they could do as they wished.

The existence of the organized labor movement in capitalist countries as well as the development of the social democracy in the world of socialism are limiting this desire for power. The concealment of the real political power relationship is therefore one of the most important tasks of bourgeois ideology. Consequently all bourgeois ideologues are propagating the alleged unity of capitalism and freedom and are comparing it to the horrible anti-communist image of socialism and totalitarianism. Consequently they are constantly inventing new and beautiful names for their state: The "liberal-democratic order," the "pluralistic democracy" or the "open society." The question of the state and of political power is one of the most complicated questions, Lenin stressed, "a question which has probably been confused more than any others by bourgeois scholars, writers and philosophers."<sup>3</sup>

#### Attack on the Current State

It is also evident today. The reactionary politicians and ideologues of conservatism<sup>2</sup> in the United States and elsewhere, who are in favor of elevating the political power of monopolies, who are demanding a strong political state and who are severely criticizing those capitalist enterprises which are insufficiently involved in politics; at the same time they are proclaiming the slogan that the effect of the current state must be reduced.



It appears to be a contradiction<sup>6</sup>. But when one looks behind the slogan of "attack on the current state," what is hidden behind it is by no means a reduction in the state apparatus. What is really expressed, is the attack on the social accomplishments of the working class, the role of the labor unions in the public life and all those achievements that have been obtained by the working class in the fiercest battles with the capitalist state. As a consequence the criticism of the state is actually something that supports its own political function of oppression, while simultaneously carrying out a rigorous reduction in social services. It means that the vocal support in favor of strengthening the political power of the imperialist state is not in contradiction with the demand that "state interference in social and economic areas" is to be limited. Of late these forces have been concerned with the consistent implementation of the political interests of the leading circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie against the interests of the majority of the people.

When one looks at the bourgeois political theory in its totality, it becomes apparent that it was and still is concerned with the establishment of a theoretical and practical agreement between the capitalist socioeconomic foundation and the bourgeois state, the political powerplay of the bourgeoisie, and it wants to emphasize and develop it. Of late it has been of secondary importance whether it was done openly as was the case with the early bourgeois thinkers or whether it is hidden for the purpose of spiritual and demagogic manipulation, as is the case with current theories. It is important, above all, to find out how well bourgeois politicians and ideologues know that a strong state is necessary for the implementation of its interests and why it is so. From this realization they are defending their positions of power with all political and ideological means. From this insight, however, they also derive their strategic considerations on weakening socialism.

For that reason, bourgeois socialism concepts have split the unity and agreement between foundation and superstructure--something that is emphasized in capitalism. And wherever this unity cannot be attacked, either theoretically or practically--it is being defamed with anticommunist statements. As a consequence it must be recognized that bourgeois ideologues, whenever they speak of the state in their capitalistic society--whether they call it "Leviathan" or "open society"--always proceed from the idea that it must be a strong political power in the interest of its own class. But wherever they envision a state in socialism--whether it is an imaginary socialism model or whether it is the result of their deliberations on real socialism--they develop an image of a weak state or political power which is in conflict with its social foundation.

This deceitfulness is not surprising, considering the fact that this question is the central problem of all politics from the viewpoint of each respective class. It is the reason why Lenin warned not to expect impartiality with respect to this question from some people or theoreticians. When it comes to the question of the state, one will always "notice the struggle between the different classes, a struggle which is reflected or expressed in the views on the state, in the assessment of the role and the importance of the state."<sup>4</sup>



## Attempts With an Unfit Object

Thus, the class character of bourgeois socialism concepts are revealed particularly clearly when it comes to their attitudes toward the state, toward the question of political power. Wherever a "socialism" is propagated, which is to be achieved with the help and under the leadership of the bourgeois state, we are dealing with a concept which is--to say the least--utopian, illusory, but it may even be a demagogic misorientation or--and this is one of the goals of such "theories"--represent the program of counterrevolutionary changes in the real socialism.

These attempts are the targets of consistent discussions lead by the positions of Marxism-Leninism and based on many decades of experience in the development of socialist state power. The fact that this year the progressive world is celebrating the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is living proof of the strength, the vitality and the inspiring role of the socialist state. "The foundation and successful development of the USSR," is a comment in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on this event, "is of immortal international significance, it marks an important turning point in a struggle that has been going on for centuries, a struggle by the progressive mankind for equality and friendship between the nations, for revolutionary renewal of the world."

The standpoint of these accomplishments is the basis of the current assessment of the theory and reality of socialism and the socialist state. And bourgeois socialism images, no matter how much they try to remain, will pass away. They prove to be unfit attempts, above all, because they are incapable of changing the world in the sense of social progress.

## FOOTNOTES

1. From the politburo report of the fourth session of the SED Central Committee. Reporter: Paul Verner, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1982, p 12.
2. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "Communist Party Manifesto," Works, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1969, vol 4, p 488-489.
3. V. I. Lenin, "On the State," Works, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1951, vol 29, p 460.
4. Loc. cit., p 463

8991

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

AIRBORNE ASSAULT TACTICAL EXERCISE DESCRIBED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 35, 1982 (signed to press 23 Aug 82)  
pp 4-5

[Article by Capt Manfred Vogt: "From the Hovering Position to Urban Combat: NCO Training Platoon Arnold of Willi Saenger Parachute Battalion Mastered Realistic Combat Training With 'Best' Grade--Goal of Future Squad Leaders: By the Anniversary of the Republic Every Competition Plan Is To Be Fulfilled!"]

[Text] Helicopter gunships approach with a roar. From an Eastern direction, with the lowered bow almost touching the tree tops, they approach the clearing, then hover overhead. Mere seconds later, the last NCO trainee from Training Platoon Arnold has jumped to the ground without a parachute. They run out of the range of the propellers, roll off, go into position. Using every grass-tuft, every gully for cover, they pass through the open terrain behind their platoon leader Lutz Ebenau and approach the protection of the wooded area. In this short 300-meter stretch, many a trainee realizes why party member Ebenau unrelentingly made them practice the moves again and again during those past days. Without their leader's insistence, they would reach the point of their actual mission too late, if at all. Seeing and hearing much, without being seen or heard--that is their motto.

They must approach a town which had been taken by the "enemy", overcome or destroy fortifications, defense installations and blockades, enter the buildings, take and secure them. Needed are a high degree of military and expert knowledge and ability, physical fitness, courage, will power and determination--characteristics which no one is born with.

Experts Do Not Fall From The Sky

This the NCO trainees had to learn. Approximately 10 months ago, when they first put on their dashing uniforms with the silvery parachutes on their collar patches and the orange berets, and thought that now they were paratroopers. All of them had jumped before their induction. Olaf Rath, e.g., had already 100 jumps behind him. The others also were physically well prepared. Volker Lehmann, e.g., had participated in the military olympics and Torsten Saffran, one of the Dan wearers among the numerous Judo aces, had been able to win several medals. But very soon they recognized that, although they belonged to the paratroopers, they will had to pass a few crucial tests before they could drop out of the sky as experts.



During the past months, the NCO's had undergone difficult training: self-defense, hand-to-hand combat, house-to-house combat, jumping with and without parachutes from planes and helicopters, alpine camping, overcoming water obstacles, demolition training, winter camping, endurance and obstacle proficiency training.... Many a time they had been tested to the very limit. "The most difficult thing, which also created cohesion within the platoon, was the endurance tests we had to pass during marches." NCO trainee Volker Lehmann had told us the evening before.

They underwent these stresses because they know about the meaning of their mission. For that reason, they had decided in the FDJ meeting that they would solve this task very well. There, Klaus-Peter Kellner had promised to pass the NCO training "very well." To become the best, to win the military sports medal. As his reason, he stated: "So that I will be better prepared for combat than the opponent." More than once they had discussed the arms build-up and confrontation course of imperialism, its insane first strike plans, and Tel Aviv's murderous campaign in Lebanon and West Beirut. Olaf Rath, Torsten Saffran and Volker Lehmann even set themselves the goal of passing their training with an "excellent." Many others, such as Thomas Prang, Uwe Schroeter and Alexander Schuster took on additional obligations--in keeping with the words of the minister: better weeks, months or years of hard service filled with privation than one single hour of war!

#### Sweat in Training Saves Blood in Combat

In the meantime they reached the small wooded area. Platoon leader Lieutenant Holger Arnold, whom they all respect "because he can do almost 150 pushups and 36 pullups," "because he is a model platoon-leader and was awarded, among other things, a trip to the Moscow Olympics in 1980"--now divides the unit into reconnaissance, assault and security squads, briefs them on the buildings and sewage system of the town which is approximately 1 km ahead. A short time later, the paratroopers prepare themselves. Ropes for grapnels are coiled up, hand grenades are placed, assault ladders are made, the shoulder supports of service pistols are folded down.

The security squad, led by NCO Ralf Grieser, party organizer, goes into position in a wooded area 300 m ahead. Two scouts advance undetected almost to the first houses. The demolition squad approaches the first roadblocks. The paratroopers watch every movement in the streets and houses with concentration, and pass their observations on. In these minutes before the attack, NCO trainee Mathias Schumann thinks back to the severe reprimand from First Lieutenant Foerster, when he hesitated during training before jumping 3 and 1/2 meters from the second floor. "The mission is at stake, your life is at stake," the lieutenant's words are still resounding in his ears. Uwe Schroeter next to him still remembers with annoyance how on the day before only on the third attempt did he succeed in hitting the roadblock with his grapnel and in pulling it to the side. The thought that "this must not happen again," shoots through his mind. Today we must prove that we have learned during training!



## Decided in Seconds

"Get ready to jump," the platoon leader commands. The assault squad snaps forward. Now everything passes quickly and with the precision of clockwork. The grapnel of NCO trainee Schroeter gets a hook on the first roadblock. Hand grenades explode. The paratroopers zickzack forward, cross the newly created path in file, weapon on hip, break up into a skirmish line, storm the houses....

Meanwhile, the reconnaissance squad has gotten behind the enemy through the sewage system and attacks simultaneously from the rear--jumping through ground-level windows and reaching the upper floors quickly with grapnels--room after room. With hand grenades, with short barrages of fire from their service pistols they advance from the bottom to the top, covering each other with protective fire, avoiding dead-end corners. They conquer the "enemy", hoist the yellow flag which signals "clear of the enemy," and storm the next house.

Only a short time later they have liberated the town. The paratroopers leave just as they came--quickly and quietly. They approach the assembly spot and disappear with the helicopters which had arrived at the precise second. The battalion commander in charge, Captain Fischer, is satisfied with the performances. "Very good" is his judgment.

They kept their promise. The title of "Best Platoon" has come within reach, and also the goal of fulfilling all competition obligations by the anniversary of the Republic.

9328

CSO: 2300/402



PZPR NOWY SACZ FIRST SECRETARY INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 10 Aug 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Jozef Brozek, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Nowy Sacz by Pawel Lewandowski: "The Carousel Should Revolve Vertically"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Pawel Lewandowski: I heard that the Voivodship Committee Executive Board meeting was suddenly postponed to a later date. I presume that this is because of the inspection being conducted by the Armed Forces Inspection in the voivodship.

[Answer] Jozef Brozek: Indeed. We would not want to upset the plans of the inspectors, who on arriving at an enterprise or construction site would learn that the directors are absent because they have been invited to attend the Executive Board meeting. So we have postponed the meeting, but the subject matter will be the same: housing construction and trade.

[Question] The problem of construction was brought up at the Ninth Plenum, for it is very important and sensitive to the young people. Is the Executive Board initiating a series of measures to correct the total inability in this field?

[Answer] The lack of apartments sporadically affects the adults, but it hurts the young people most of all. Up to now, at least once a quarter, we have tried to urge the administrations and the enterprises not to ignore construction. But after all, the conditions under which these enterprises have functioned have not changed, and that is why, although we have said that construction is important, nothing much has actually come out of this.

At the next Executive Board meeting we want to take stock, to determine what has been done thus far, what has been built and what has been prepared-- to compare the plan with the actual state. On the other hand, towards the end of this year, there will be a Voivodship Committee plenum at which, using accurate data, including data on land development, materials, heating-installation conditions, etc., we will approve construction plans that will be real. We want to make optimum use of capacity, yet we do not want to create fictitious projects, which though beautiful are not realistic.

We will give priority to small youth cooperates, then to the private construction which now dominates in our voivodship. We also intend to have the workplaces assist in the construction.



It seems to me that the problem of housing is not more important than the cadre policy. I know from experience that the point does not lie in offering the young people management positions. They need prospects for the future. If someone has an education and is young, he needs to be sure that he will be promoted to foreman, and then to department head. The carousel of positions, which thus far has been revolving horizontally, guaranteed that the deputy director in the plant had no hope at all that he would become the director. Ordinarily, someone from the outside came in and became head. We must make it possible for the carousel to revolve vertically.

If the foreman is doing a good job he should know that the enterprise is counting on him, and that in the future they see him as a department head. If there are three such foremen, the element of competition enters, which will make them work even harder. In any case, that is how it was in the old days and that is the procedure that teaching recommends.

The young, precisely because of the type of cadre policy practiced until recently, are not too well prepared to fulfill responsible functions. When I began to work in the Voivodship Committee a couple of years ago, I suggested, as the organizational secretary, that the chiefs from the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] nominate 10 young people who would be qualified to assume management positions in the state administration. And really they could not find 10.

We are trying to conduct a cadre policy that is directed toward the young. We already have some ideas on this. In our voivodship, out of 12,800 people with a higher education, after deducting those who can work only in their own professions, e.g., physicians, there remains rather a small group of engineers, and economists, who could go into the administration.

[Question] To what degree does membership in the PZPR determine advancement?

[Answer] I think that professional competence is the primary determinant. Furthermore, I know from many years of observation that non-Party persons in management positions are more loyal and feel less secure than Party members, who, in turn, sometimes feel a bit too sure of themselves. On balance, party affiliation is not a factor of basic importance. I am not talking, of course, about opponents of the political system, who certainly cannot be assigned important functions.

[Question] What role, comrade, do you see for the youth organizations?

[Answer] This is an important issue which also pertains to co-government, and therefore it pertains to the place of the young in the self-determining organs: the people's councils and the workers' councils, where the young could feel that they are in authority. At times a great deal is said about authority without noticing that it is within arm's reach. We do not want to tell the youth what they are to do. Surely these organizations play an important role in preparing for co-government, in political sophistication and upbringing, of the people starting out in life. It is too bad that these organizations have been practically ousted from the schools.

Now, when they again want to recover the territory they have lost, they encounter reluctance and indifference. Often the youth take this to mean: they want to organize us, to make us uniform. The ZSMP or the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] should be the



organizer of the life of the youth who benefit from various funds, who go camping or take tours. There is no place there for those not organized. Furthermore, the organizations were reminiscent of closed, exclusive social clubs. Their extreme institutionalization, just as, in any case, that of the party, was not good for anyone.

We must make sure that a rift is not created, dividing the youth into those who are organized and those who are not, or a rift dividing the adults into Party members and those who do not belong to the Party.

I believe that youth organizations cannot be annexes to political parties or the PZPR, for this would require that the members of the organizations declare themselves politically, and the school period is perhaps a bit too early for this. These unions should be separate and independent.

[Question] You regard the young favorably, comrade.

[Answer] Probably throughout the world it becomes necessary to reevaluate societies. A person has the greatest needs when he is young, and the possibilities of satisfying those needs are the smallest. That is why the most convenient conditions for establishing oneself should be created. A person who is already somewhat established and who is not expending energy on taking care of elementary matters, can be better utilized, his strengths and inventiveness can be made use of.

We must therefore reject the rancor of the older people, those who do not look favorably on giving preferences to the young. The people of the war generation, particularly, complain that the youth are being coddled. They explain that they did not have such "hothouse" conditions. But we must remember that time passes and that the level of social consciousness changes.

[Question] You began your work, comrade, in the Voivodship Committee in October 1980 and you have been first secretary since June 1981. How do you feel as a worker in the apparatus? How do you assess this type of activity?

[Answer] There have existed and continue to exist many myths about the Party, about the functioning of the apparatus. I am an advocate of debunking. To the rank-and-file members of the Party, to say nothing about the unaffiliated, it seems that somewhere far in the Committee there is a large, high authority. Whereas it is not so much large as it is entangled in the problems of the people, their daily life, in making decisions and in activities, the results of which cannot be quickly measured.

We will never be able to satisfy all the needs of every person. People assess the authority from the standpoint of these unsettled matters. If someone does something, he himself immediately forgets it, and others remember it even less. In political work, results are not apparent quickly and tangibly, as is the case, for example, in an enterprise. That is why the young people especially, often become discouraged and pass on to work that is only ostensible. They organize assemblies and meetings, pass resolutions, and slowly the form exceeds the substance. No notice is taken of what actually results from these deliberations, what it is that they change. It is said only that they were good, because the discussions were lengthy and stormy. By these criteria--how often yet in our country--activists are judged. This one is good



because he always takes the floor and talks interestingly. What he is actually doing ceases to be important.

I came into the Committee at a very difficult time. At that time a straight-line approach was not possible. We held talks, negotiated, sought paths and solutions.

Everything must be looked at critically. I believe that when the direction, the way out of the crisis, becomes clear, new people should come in, people without the burden of past history. The proportions between the comrades who have been functioning in the apparatus for a long time and the new ones, those coming in from outside the apparatus, should be weighed.

9295

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FORMER SCOUT LEADER DISCUSSES SOCIAL IMPORTANCE OF SCOUTING

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 7-8, Jul-Aug 82 pp 142-149

[Article by Andrzej Ornat, formerly commander in chief of the Polish Scout Union and presently minister of youth affairs: "Youth-ZHP [Polish Scout Union]-Society"]

[Text] Discussion about youth has been continuing for some time now. It concerns the specific problems of the young generation during the time of crisis. The term "cheated generation" has become one of the currently circulating concepts. Just recently, this generation was called "the generation of great opportunity." There are those who regret that in this discussion the participation of youth, which usually sees its problems in categories of rights and privileges, is so small. In turn, this outlook on the part of youth is justly viewed with disdain by representatives of the older generation, who perceive in this signs of the broadly denounced consumer [konsumpcyjnych] attitudes. Others, on the other hand, are ready to justify youth, claiming that in large part it is the youth that is paying the price of the crisis, that, after all "the quality of life determines [social] awareness." However, they too would prefer to see creative, optimistic prosocial attitudes that are open to Poland's future and to the creative processes of renewal.

The problem with all of this is that despite all appearances, this entire discussion is, in effect, not a discussion about youth. In reality, this is, above all, a continuing discussion about society, about the social crisis, about ways to overcome it and about the future of Poland while the age factor [metryka] of youth serves only as a pretext and as a point of departure. This is a factor that no one looks into very accurately. In this discussion, youth is a broadly understood abstraction. It includes the socially and professionally active young married couple as well as the secondary school student; the farmer and the scientist; a soldier in the Polish People's Army [LWP] as well as young patrons of discotheques and sports stadiums. Many of the young people included in this category are not in the least interested in this discussion, in its progress or even in its outcome.



The discussion in itself deals essentially with such general problems as, for example, joining the principle of social justice with the need for reproducing [reprodukci] society (for example, the care of young married couples); working out a method of developing and stimulating the growth of such values as activity, zeal, creativity and initiative, which are represented, above all, by youth but with the interest of all of society in mind; or the problem of reconciling the interests of all generations in the process of socialist renewal. Contemporary young people do not see themselves in these general categories; however, they always allow themselves to be easily drawn into discussions about the problems and difficulties of daily life. These are, after all, the same problems and difficulties that all of society is experiencing, although they are felt more acutely by those young people who have already begun their independent journey into adult life.

Youth treated en masse may appear as a mysterious and threatening sphinx, though no more than all of society appears to be. If we wish to win youth over to active participation in the socialist renewal of Poland, if we want to build fronts of national accord, it is not enough to move around in a sphere of abstracts and generalities or statistical figures and indexes.

The category of youth is very broad and without specific definition. It is not age that separates people; classification into generations is not of the utmost importance today. However, no matter how we define the upper age limits of youth, there is bound to be in this category a large and important group of young Poles who are as yet unprepared to stand on their own, who are no longer children but not yet adults; who are no longer under someone's total care but who do not as yet take full responsibility for others, who distinguish themselves with great mental flexibility and who can do much for society--this is the group made up of school youths who will constitute the society of tomorrow.

Let us try to take a look at this important and large youth group, among which the Polish Scout Union operates and which, above all, it unites by trying to represent it and to give it social, political and cultural meaning.

More than a year has passed since the Seventh ZHP Congress, during which a stormy discussion brought about results in the form of resolutions that define the character and tasks of the present-day Scouting movement. Celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of Polish Scouts made it possible to refer to the wealth of accomplishments in the past and helped in understanding its historical continuity and in defining the union's identity. The period of sociopolitical, economic and moral crisis had an effect on the disintegration of Scout membership in many communities, especially in post-elementary schools; many instructors also left the ZHP, thus contributing also to a drop in the organization's membership, particularly in rural areas. Not all discussions and disputes [which caused some to leave] have as yet been dissipated.

Nonetheless, the organization [ZHP] has endured this period well. This is mainly due to the fact that it was capable of assembling youth not in



discussions about its problems and rights but around specific and important tasks that serve the people directly. This was the case, above all, with the Scouting Winter Emergency Service, a service of long standing offered by the scouts to elderly persons, as well as the Scouting Flood Alert, which despite especially difficult circumstances was able to collect over 30 million zlotys for flood victims and send more than 100 truck-loads of goods to them. This action was accompanied by the consistent implementation on the part of the organization leadership of decisions made at the Seventh ZHP Congress, which stimulate the process of renewal in Scouting.

The Polish Scout Union, currently a 2-million-member ideological-formative organization made up of children and school youth, is the inheritor and continuator of an over 70-year-old tradition of Polish Scouting. It constitutes a specific, distinct trend in the youth movement in Poland--a trend that represents only genuine values that are known and revered by society. Specifically, this is, above all, the joining together of a wealth of tradition with current needs on the basis of a program and methodology designed to benefit the country's future for which the Scout movement is training young citizens. In Scouting, we teach young people the following:

--social service in response to the needs of the country and its people; we teach the joy of giving of ourselves to others in contrast to the attitude: "we are (or I am) entitled to it."

--responsibility for oneself and for others.

--character formation.

--self-development.

--active involvement in the basic areas of community life, designated by the slogan: society-work-culture.

--compliance with the requirements of discipline and submission of personal interests to higher goals.

These and other values stimulate the activity of thousands of Scout troops under the guidance of Scout instructors--youth educators and guides who have at their disposal an efficient, methodical Scout system. Scout troops converge to form a uniform organization, although differentiated in terms of age, which is guided by goals, a program, methodology and a system of cadre instruction.

Scouting makes it possible to satisfy and release various needs and aspirations of youth on the school and community scale. The basis for the success of scouting as an organization, as a social movement and as an instructional system are the cadres of instructors. Through their activity in Scouting, they seek to contribute to the socialist development of Poland while Scouting enables them to gain satisfaction from their social activity and helps them in their personal development. Let us add to this the by no means trivial



fact that the Scout movement has been in existence for over 70 years and that past generations of Scouts have conscientiously earned social recognition and respect. The Scouting movement has managed to work out its own life-style and manner of being not only in reference to youth, but through its output and said life-style and manner of being it has inscribed itself permanently in Polish national culture.

All of this is important and makes it possible to understand why despite these or other crises that envelop society and youth, the Scout movement remains relatively stable, which is not to say indifferent. It is an organization, a social movement and an instructional system directed at more far-reaching goals in terms of categories on a national scale as well as in the process of individual training. Assuming that the "ideology" of the Scout movement is, at least in outline, generally known, let us recall several of the most important issues that make it possible to understand why the crisis did not involve the Scout movement and why it is not a crisis of the Scout movement, why Scouting remains a live center of social activity and why it can be depended on in terms of the future.

As an ideological-formative organization, the Polish Scout Union shapes the personality of its members in accordance with the upbringing ideal of Scouting. This is a socialist ideal that at the same time takes into account national values. Two concepts in it are raised to the highest rank: socialism and the homeland. These values are inseparably bound to each other because it is the aim of Scouting to instruct in the spirit of service to socialist Poland. This goal is achieved through the methodology of indirect instruction: through activity and therefore through the actual work of Scouts and not through verbal exhortation. In the opinion of our organization, this is the most appropriate method of instruction for youth, one which the ZHP embraces with its activity. At the same time, this is a method that has acquired social recognition for the Scout movement in Poland.

The upbringing ideal of Scouting and the ideological-formative character of the Polish Scout Union is historically determined, since it has its origins in two trends of Scouting experience in Poland, in two great traditions: in conventional Scouting, a movement that came into being as an independence movement of youth and educators, emphasizing service to Poland and to the Polish state, and in the movement of the Scouting Left that developed during the Second Republic (for example, Independent Scouting, Red Scouting of the Society of Workers' Universities [TUR] and the M. Bem Circle of Instructors) and that in People's Poland encompassed our entire organization with its influence. The ideological-formative assumptions of the first trend are accepted in the present-day ZHP in so far as they do not contradict the socialist ideal of upbringing and the socialist concept of social life.

The upbringing ideal of Scouting also tries to help in meeting the needs of present-day Polish society, which is pluralistic in terms of its outlook on life. This has a vital bearing on the family upbringing of children and youth.



Through its membership make-up, Scouting is a reflection of society. The ideological principles of Scouting, which are traditionally formulated in the Scout Code and Oath, which define the Scouting attitude and which regulate Scout behavior and define personal growth, do not designate a particular philosophy of life. They [the ideological principles] are capable of being deduced from the ideals of traditional humanism as well as from the fundamental values of socialism. As is clearly emphasized by the resolutions of the Seventh ZHP Congress, the Scout movement recognizes the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in society and in reference to itself. This means, in practice, that Scouting is a secular organization that does not organize the religious life of its members and does not impose demands for a particular outlook on life. In searching for common elements in various humanistic traditions, it does not try, however, to efface differences in various philosophies of life--a condition necessary for the credibility of training activity and for tolerance of various philosophies of life.

When it comes to a philosophy of life, each Scout must ultimately work it out for himself, develop it personally--this is a long-term process. Scouting creates various situations that help everyone to formulate their own outlook on life, on the world. Above all, it actively introduces Scouts, through activity, to the various forms of social life outside of school. It places them in direct contact with various social situations teaching sensitivity to needs, showing the complexity of social life; it brings them closer to other people and groups that work actively in this regard--with party members. At the same time, it teaches to ask questions relating to various aspects of social life as well as intellectual, cultural and political life; to ask questions and to look for answers. Among other things, it has an influence on the programs of various clubs that are open to all students, including debating clubs; on the program of sociopolitical knowledge; and on young rationalists and others who act alongside these groups [szczypty] in postelementary schools. It brings this discussion-oriented activity in touch with life; Scouts--participants in club work--have the opportunity to influence other Scouts from other troops and to make use of everything that they have learned in their clubs.

Therefore, the demagogic accusation of certain critics that Scouting is only "short pants" and "frolicking" through the woods is untrue. Simply put, not everyone understands Scouting and not everyone likes it.

Scouting gives the instructor a wide range of possibilities for influencing young people with his own attitude and example, which is, after all, one of the canons of Scouting methodology. The only condition is that his attitude be genuine and clear and express itself in his activity. However, we are assuming here that every instructor who undertakes educational activity in ZHP has already made an ideological choice and will educate youth in the spirit of socialist values.

Herein lie specific opportunities for instructors--party members--to educate youth in accordance with socialist ideals. They understand that their activity in ZHP is not simply the continuation of their childhood or a difficult



responsibility imposed by someone. It is an important mission, a type of sociopolitical activity that has a real significance for the future of the country. The 2 million members of ZHP, the thousands of troops and even the excellent instructional system, documents, programs and resolutions, the pervading attitudes and way of life, cannot, however, have an immediate effect and cannot instruct anyone by themselves. This must be done by people who are aware of the goals and tasks of Scouting and who understand its nature, significance and capabilities.

Scouting lays the foundation, activates and creates conditions and possibilities. Instructors build on this foundation, teams are formed, activity is born and in this activity people develop. However, each individual must ultimately develop his own personality by himself through, among other things, participation in the life of the organization and with the help of its instructors.

The basic values of Scouting as an organization, as a socioeducational movement and as a method are, in particular:

--patriotism--confirmed by various sometimes dramatic periods in the nation's history; patriotism in service and in combat today requires the elaboration of new forms, especially in the area of work;

--open access to anyone who wants to belong to the Scouts on condition that criteria requiring working on one's self-development are met;

--different age groups from various backgrounds: children, youth and adults working together congenially and in harmony in the same organization in cities as well as in rural areas for the benefit of everyone;

--genuine desire to belong and of one's own accord--qualities that have often been put to a difficult test;

--tolerance and a variety of outlooks on life;

--activity: Scouting that is true to character and well organized does not have inactive members; it prepares everyone for an active life and educates in and through activity.

Possessing a specific ideal of Scout training as recorded in the bylaws, the Scout movement acts in the awareness that by following this ideal it teaches each of its members to develop into above average adults possessing individuality that, through its specific qualities, contributes to the prosperity of society, today and tomorrow.

It appears from the above that nothing is more foreign to Scouting and to its values than so-called feigned activity for show and for effect, although such manifestations do occur. Really and truly, Scouting seeks to educate, first and foremost. This is implemented, first of all, in the basic elements,



the troop ranks and patrols where instructors and Scouts come face to face with each other and where it is impossible to feign the training process for any length of time. Activity that supports and strengthens troop ranks is also undertaken on a macro-scale, in large units [jednostka] and in the operations and campaigns of the entire organization. This is one of the basic trends of the resolutions passed at the Seventh ZHP Congress.

Scouting is genuinely trying to be a patriotic organization in every one of its elements, which means the securing of patriotism in its fullest sense, as it manifests itself in knowledge, in sentiments and in work. In its activity as a whole, ZHP wants to fulfill all of the Leninist functions of the socialist youth union: ideological-instructional and sociopolitical functions as well as those involving the satisfying of the needs and aspirations of children, youths and adults.

The question may arise as to whether Scouting, characterized as a specific trend in the youth movement which concentrates, to a major extent, on training its members in small groups, is authorized and to what extent it may have its say on issues concerning youth as a whole and issues pertaining to the country and its future.

--First of all, there are over 2 million of us, including several hundred thousand older youths and instructors who through their words and deeds have declared their readiness and willingness to serve People's Poland.

--Second, the achievements of the past stand behind us and show conclusively the kinds of people that Scouting produces. After all, we are the ones who are supposed to think about the future of Poland.

--Third, we do not bring up youth in an isolated laboratory but just the opposite--in life, through social activity and in social activity. Evidence of this are not only the well-known operations such as Frombork, Bieszczady or the Flood Alert but, above all, the work on a daily basis of thousands of Scout troops.

--Fourth, while aware of its specificity and distinct character, Scouting is open to everyone and at the same time, with its program of social service, it also encompasses its peers who are not organized under ZHP.

Six of the most important tasks for 1981-1985 are contained in the resolutions of the Seventh ZHP Congress:

--to fill the life of every troop and patrol with interesting and useful work;

--to fill the work of every Scout team with values that we want to provide for society;

--to enrich school life as well as that of the student community and to be a spokesman for the causes of children and youth;



--to participate in the management of rural communities, towns and residential communities; to take on useful activity there;

--to contribute to the rebuilding of the economy; and

--to make clearheadedness among youth fashionable.

In their standpoint expressed in the heading "Senior Scouts About Themselves," senior Scouts from postelementary schools have declared, among other things:

--we want to be faithful to the fundamental idea of Scouting--that of serving our homeland;

--we understand Scouting service given to our homeland in accordance with the Scouting Oath and Code to be voluntary service to society, to other people and to oneself;

--by service to society, we understand: our real and necessary participation in work for the country, in fulfilling voluntary tasks for the benefit of schools and the community in which one resides or that of other regions;

--by service to others, we understand: Scouting activity for the good of others, for friends, for those who reside in our community, for children and especially for those who need our help;

--by service to ourselves, we understand: the undertaking of such tasks as will enable us to experience the joy of life, to be and to feel young, to experience a unique Scouting adventure, to continually work on improving one's character and mind, to earn points and achieve Scouting proficiency, awards and qualifications.

At the May session of the ZHP Supreme Council, the tasks of spokesmen for children and youth affairs were widely discussed. We presented our stand on these issues to the PZPR Central Committee prior to the ninth plenum by submitting a number of proposals concerning health, access to education and participation in culture, living and learning conditions and recreational conditions for the very young. The needs, aspirations and capabilities of school youth activity really do exist, though youth cannot present these issues on its own. It is the youth unions, in this instance mainly ZHP, that are particularly predisposed to do this. They are not only able to submit proposals but through their activity they can answer many needs and aspirations and implement the social, political and cultural meaning of youth.

It can be said that school youths still live "on credit." They can undertake social activity free of charge because, in general, they do not as yet have to earn a living. School work and difficult living conditions can limit these possibilities, but at that age, possibilities do exist for wanting spontaneously



and of one's own free will to make changes in the world, for it is also true that the tendency to live "on credit" may become stronger and prolong itself into adult life: today it is "I am entitled to" go to school; tomorrow it will be college, the day after--a job, money, apartment, car, etc. That is why young people should not be intimidated or reprimanded for their sometimes not well thought out actions; they should not be made to stand in rows to revere whomever or whatever; not lured with deceptive prospects or have false authorities fabricated for them. Young people should be treated seriously, patiently; demands should be made on them; and at the same time they should be appreciated and rewarded when they deserve it. We should be patient toward youth because the upbringing process is of long duration.

Although so much has already been said about the specificity and distinct character of Scouting in the youth movement, there is no doubt that it always remains an integral part of this movement. With the concerns of the homeland and service to it constantly in mind, Scouting has always striven and is striving to find common fronts of activity with all those forces that tend in the same direction. Youth activity and initiative, which is stimulated in ZHP, finds its natural extension in the activity of other youth unions, organizations and associations; this is also one of the tasks of ZHP. Admittedly, it is important to the Scout movement that it be able to derive cadres of Scout instructors from its own ranks. However, it is equally important for the movement to raise social and political activists who will be capable of carrying out social activity in a common front with the entire nation, who will be committed to the concerns of the whole of society and who will find satisfaction in serving others. The methods and forms of Scout work, although having been developed in the groundwork of the organization, are not, after all, patented. Many of them have already been used numerous times and continue to be used by schools, summer recreational centers for youth and by various organizations and associations. As a constantly vital, youthful and developing organization, Scouting also adds on new forms in accordance with the needs and conditions of life.

A condition indispensable for the continued socialist development of Poland is the ability to incorporate youth into this development and to make use of youth's specific traits, particularly its idealism, enthusiasm, sensitivity and initiative. To achieve this goal, it is necessary not so much to try to attract young people with some sort of privileges as it is to make them believe that they are to share in the development of a society of social justice in which age is not the measure of privilege but rather productivity effort and genuine contribution. We must achieve this with respect to today's youth and at the same time assure the creation of a lasting mechanism that will guarantee the harmonious participation of youth in social life on the basis of mutual trust.

To achieve this, it is first of all necessary to promote a significant personality reorientation from "I am entitled" to "I want to and can give of myself to others." Scouting teaches such very attitudes. It remunerates work with nonmaterial rewards; it teaches joy in giving of oneself; it teaches



resourcefulness--the ability to handle things on one's own--as well as self-development and self-improvement. And second, this requires faith in youth, contact with youth as well as patience and goodwill towards it.

Not everyone wants to or can be a Scout. Next to the values of Scouting, the values and methods employed by others are important and effective, including those of the other socialist youth unions. We do not wish to argue "Who is better." The value of our multiunion youth movement lies in the fact that, among other things, it presents many possibilities and makes it possible to choose, with each of the unions leading--in various ways--to the same goal, which is the good of the nation and its socialist development.

In respect to the youths assembled in it, Scouting in all of its being is an organization of social service and self-development. It is deeply embedded in social awareness and in the national culture, thanks to its many years of accumulated achievements in the area of educational experience, its work and struggles, the flexibility of its methods and its constantly live contact with succeeding generations of children and youth. As an organization, it concurrently generates socioeducational movements around socially important goals which are attractive to youth and to instructors. This gives Scouting specific rights to speak up during all moments when the fate of Poland and its future are being decided. They are being decided, particularly today, in that which the young people feel, understand, experience and do. Scouting has a significant influence on this and will have it for as long as it is these young people's own, true organization; for as long as it continues to train in accordance with tested Scouting methods and for as long as it continues to create in its basic elements this specific climate and style of life, so that every Scout member will want "to serve you, my country and be faithful to the socialist cause."

9853

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POLAND

ZSMP MAIN AUDIT COMMISSION CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED

Warsaw WALKA MŁODYCH in Polish No 20, 15 Aug 82 p 7

[Interview by Mieczysław Maciejek with Andrzej Cukrowski, chairman, Main Audit Commission (GKR), and employee at the Automotive Equipment Plant in Konskie, Kielce Voivodship: "What a ZSMP Member Ought To Know" date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] At the Third ZSMP [Union of Socialist Youth] Special Congress much was said about democracy in the union. The congress also adopted documents which will help realize the idea of democracy. Who do you believe should be charged with insuring that the resolutions are carried out?

[Answer] Indeed, the Third Congress had a truly democratic character. The documents were adopted in such a spirit and central authorities of the union were also chosen in a democratic way. Concerning who should safeguard democracy, I will answer briefly. Well, the open and democratic character of the ZSMP guarantees that every member may conduct an evaluation of the organization and all its echelons. Formally, the evaluation can be conducted by members of the organization, its legislative body, its executive body and by the audit commissions.

[Question] You correctly, I think--put members of the organization in the first place. Do they take advantage of their rights?

[Answer] The ZSMP Charter, democratic in character and adopted through the democratic process, guarantees every member the right to information pertaining to activities of the union and all its organs of power and to the course and methods of implementing proposals. Unfortunately, many members either do not know about their rights or do not take advantage of them sufficiently.

[Question] A question arises: Why? Is it the lack of knowledge of the charter, or are there other reasons?

[Answer] Lack of knowledge of the charter is probably the major cause but not the only one. This situation is to some degree caused by the fact that the mechanics of carrying out its principles have not yet been integrated



into the day-to-day activities of the organization. The psychological barrier--that is, the failure to believe that it makes good sense and can make a difference to make demands--is also a factor. In a word, it is the conviction that intervention has little effectiveness.

[Question] I understand that the union is doing much today to change this situation.

[Answer] Oh yes, much has already changed for the better. Let me add that we have done a lot, and with good results, to reinforce organization practices based on the rights of members to make sure that their suggestions are implemented in addition to proposing them. We want to emphasize that members should be involved in the implementation of their suggestions.

[Question] Before we get to the mechanisms which guarantee democracy in the ZSMP--that is self-evaluation and evaluation--please tell us why they are so important.

[Answer] Actually, the second part of your question answers the first part. Because there cannot be democracy without self-evaluation and evaluation. Both are important in every organization, and especially in an ideological-educational and political organization like our union. Briefly, when self-evaluation and evaluation are conducted properly and systematically, they allow the formulation of conclusions, to help correct the organization's activities and make correct decisions, advantageous to the members. On the other hand, what happens when those mechanisms are absent or are not appreciated? This is best shown by the situation in the organization before the Third ZSMP Congress.

[Question] Since evaluation is so important, then why, while talking about those who have the right to conduct it--do you put audit commissions--which, at least according to their name, have the greatest right to conduct evaluations--last? Is this modesty from the chairman of the Main Audit Commission?

[Answer] The order of listing is irrelevant. What counts is whether audit commissions are valued or slighted in the organization, whether the organization sees in them an ally or an adversary. In any event, it is the concern for intraorganizational democracy that caused the Third ZSMP Congress to award special status to audit commissions. For example, it is enough to say that up to now regulations of the Audit Commission were laid down by its plenum, which had power to change them. But now the regulations are a document of the Third Congress and only a subsequent congress can change them. This is an important decision, which gives the commission a special status.

[Question] It is important to have documented records, but, in practice, are audit commissions really valued?

[Answer] I have no reservations concerning the Main Audit Commission. Its cooperation with the main board, its presidium, and its departments is



turning out all right. Detailed rules concerning the cooperation were adopted by the main board at the meeting which took place at the Liberation RSP [Agricultural Production Cooperative] in Simoradz shortly after the Third Congress. Every month we at the commission's presidium analyze results of the cooperation and we do it quarterly at the plenary meeting of the commission.

[Question] Can you say the same about commissions at lower levels, that they are both active and valued?

[Answer] Here things get a little complicated. After all, whether or not their work is valued depends on the attitude and work of individual audit commissions. Concerning the WKR [voivodship audit commissions], unfortunately, not all of them work in a systematic way. How, then, can their work be valued? But I also know cases in which--for example, in the ZSMP voivodship boards in Lublin, Poznan, Kielce, Wroclaw, Kalisz, Leszno, Nowy Sacz and Gdansk--the management says outright that it cannot imagine managing a voivodship organization without properly functioning voivodship audit commissions. In many other voivodships, the commissions strive to gain recognition through efforts to improve their functioning, and they accomplish it in the end.

We have the worst situation at the lowest level. The lower the level the less satisfactory is the functioning of commissions, even though it should be the other way around.

[Question] Can you tell us why?

[Answer] I believe it is because of a lingering idea that only boards of a unit, commune, city or plant count. Other elected bodies--audit commissions and peer courts--are less important.

[Question] Thus, much effort is needed to plow through consciousness in units and lower echelons.

[Answer] Of course, attitudes have to change enough for every member to realize that he himself is responsible for the functioning of the union, as well as of all elected bodies--boards, audit commissions and peer courts--and that everybody has an equal share of responsibility.

[Question] Do you believe that the fear of conflicts between a board and an audit commission is the cause of mutual dislike?

[Answer] This is all a misunderstanding. First of all, the number of conflicts is decreasing, at least, as compared with previous years. Secondly, wherever such conflicts take place, they are caused by the lack of appreciation of audit commissions and an erroneous idea of their function. After all, members of the commissions should not be seen as gendarmes, but as colleagues elected to safeguard the democratic process, to point out mistakes, to help and to prompt in solving specific problems. It seems to me that a good member of an audit commission is one who can suggest two or three



reasonable solutions to a specific problem or task encountered by a unit or an echelon.

[Question] Over a year has passed since the Third Congress. During that time you conducted many evaluations and visits. What do they show?

[Answer] Evaluation teams are usually composed of members of audit commissions, evaluation-audit employees of main boards and voivodship boards, and of representatives of peer courts. Representatives of individual departments of main boards and voivodship boards are also included in evaluation teams. It should be noted that we do not base our findings only on information from a sole source, i.e., information obtained from the permanent staff of the union, when evaluating implementation of resolutions or specific topical tasks, or a department's work. We compare the information with materials gathered by members of the Commission and with findings of 49 voivodship audit commissions. Only then do we obtain a correct picture of the functioning of the ZSMP. For example, when we conducted a comprehensive evaluation of the Main Board of School Youth Department, our findings showed that everything was in order there. The department functioned efficiently, it implemented tasks correctly and conveyed instructions and materials to the field. But findings of the voivodship commissions were less optimistic. They showed that in many regions work with school youth was inadequate and that much needed to be changed.

[Question] This would show that something like a transmission belt is needed between higher and lower levels.

[Answer] Exactly, because even the best resolution of the main board plenary session is useless if there is no common knowledge of it in the organization. We all know that this is only a package of proposals and duties for the union's units and echelons. It can only be implemented when it is skillfully transformed within the units. And we do not always know how to do it.

[Question] Then what should be done to insure that all the resolutions are properly implemented by the units?

[Answer] I would start from the suggestion that there has to be a change in the way the central action group is used to work with units and low echelons. I am thinking here about members of the Main Board, of the Main Audit Commission, and of the Main Social Committee. A good member of those elected central bodies is the one who wholeheartedly gives himself to the activities of the unit in his plant, village, school or military unit, and who acquaints his constituents with current actions of the union, resolutions currently adopted by it, tasks that are being implemented and objectives--because those constituents entrusted their mandate to him.

Another part of the answer to this question is in the postulate about improving the flow of information in the organization through such measures as wider involvement of the union press.



Also, in voivodships, cities and communes, the involvement of members of voivodship elected bodies in the work of their parent units has to increase. And this should be the case at all levels, all the way down to the units.

[Question] Let us go back to the effects of evaluations. You told us about some things, but is it everything? I am thinking here about shortcomings, of course, since mechanisms needed to get rid of them are the subject of this interview.

[Answer] I already spoke about the inability to make use of central and voivodship activists. Here, to be fair, a small reservation is in order. I realize that the crisis and demands of economic reform make their work difficult--for example, it is harder to take time off from work to do volunteer work. I also told you that from voivodships to units, skills are needed to translate resolutions into packages of specific proposals for implementation. The third matter is the question of how problem commissions of the Main Board and of voivodship boards function. Unfortunately, their work is unorganized, and, as a result, their consultative function suffers and they are not able to impose their opinions and suggestions on the union's echelons. And lastly, it often happens that the executive staff of the organization forwards to the ZSMP central authorities many suggestions and complaints about problems of implementation, which they themselves should settle. It even happens that nobody makes sure that the transcript of the minutes is made, conclusions forwarded where needed and an answer demanded. The Main Board has been fulfilling this duty for quite some time, but that is not always the case in the field.

[Question] You spoke about important duties of audit commission members. Who are they? Can they live up to their duties?

[Answer] I believe that commissions need mainly activists with experience. We should remember, however, that elections conducted in a democratic way--which is what took place during the last ZSMP reporting-election campaign--do not consist of nominating experienced persons, but of choosing those who enjoy popular confidence. Thus, many young and even very young people found themselves in the commission. They should, really, receive a lot of attention and be taught during training sessions and seminars. And we will continue to conduct training sessions so we ourselves can also learn how to effectively implement the union's resolutions, and what methods should be used to this end.

[Question] You initiated cooperation with the PZPR Central Audit Commission [CKR].

[Answer] The party's Central Audit Commission gave us much help, mainly by making their methodological materials available to us. This is extremely important to us, especially because of our lack of experience. We use the materials in our daily work and, in addition, we want to make use of them to prepare a manual for chairmen of ZSMP audit commissions of all echelons, something like the already existing "Manual For a Leader of a ZSMP Unit."



[Question] Are you limited only to methodological materials?

[Answer] Of course not. We invited the chairman of the PZPR Central Audit Commission to a meeting of the presidium of our commission, we exchanged informational material, and together we conducted a comprehensive evaluation of the ZSMP Main Board. During the evaluation, our commission evaluated the methodology of the organization's work, and the party commission evaluated financial-economic matters. Results of the evaluation have already been summed up, and the joint report with conclusions has been forwarded to ASMP Main Board Chairman Jerzy Jaskiernia.

[Question] I realize that so long as the document has not been released, it is difficult to anticipate facts. However, perhaps you could present the most important general conclusions.

[Answer] First of all, I would like to emphasize that we are happy that the implementation of suggestions and postulates in the area of ZSMP activities among workers and rural youth is at a very advanced stage. In general, the evaluation of the activities of the main board and its presidium was positive in the area of implementing resolutions of the Third Congress.

The evaluating team noted significant progress as compared with the past concerning economic-financial matters. This means that the present leadership correctly manages property and financial matters.

[Question] It is time to end our long interview, even though I realize that we have not exhausted many matters by a long shot.

[Answer] Nevertheless, let me take advantage of the patience of WALKA MLODYCH readers and touch briefly on two matters. Well, I want to thank the comrades from the PZPR Central Audit Commission, from the bottom of my heart, for their kindness and the help which they gave us, the less experienced. I would also like to thank members of evaluating teams which took part in the Main Board's and voivodship boards' comprehensive evaluation and for their work on intervention teams. And I also want to ask colleagues in our organization to treat this interview as a modest effort to answer the question of what a ZSMP member should know.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

9959

CSO: 2600/906



PRESS COVERAGE OF ZSMP ACTIVITY NOTED

Main Board Presidium Meeting

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 1 Sep 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] On 21 August, the Presidium of the Main Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP] met in Warsaw. Conclusions reached a few days before during the national conference of chairmen of the ZSMP plant organizations from 207 plants were treated with special attention. The conclusions were linked with tasks of the organization, its members and activists to initiate economic reforms consistently. The ZSMP Main Board Presidium fully approved the proposition put forward during the conference that only judicious, calm and at the same time constructive participation of the realization of the reform program and initiative and activity in implementing the Resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee create conditions for rapid, more effective solution to problems and difficulties and for leading the nation from crisis.

During its deliberations the Presidium accepted the plan for ZSMP activity to the end of this year and the schedule for undertakings intended to determine and then implement the union's program to improve living and working conditions for working and rural youth. The conviction was expressed about the need to further popularize the ideas of those ZSMP members and of all young people in Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and in other forms of the young generation's social activity. The next plenum of the ZSMP Main Board, which will be on 15 September, will be devoted to these matters.

The Presidium of the Main Board evaluated the progress and results of this spring's social initiatives, by the ZSMP. The spring proceeded under the motto, "The most aesthetically maintained club--the most trees planted," and was joined with cleanup work, with social effort in cities, villages and settlements, with repairing rural clubs and community centers, and with planting trees and shrubs. The concrete nature of the initiatives--expressed by building roads, sports fields, and bus stops, by helping to erect health centers, by repairing and servicing farm machinery, and by participating in spring fieldwork--and the spontaneity in accepting the most useful undertakings in specific surroundings deserve special recognition. It should also be noted that although the action was planned for the spring period, it was also implemented in the summer months. The experience of this spring's social initiatives by the ZSMP will be put to good use in the future. A competition in which the most economical ZSMP circles were singled out was also held in all the provinces.



## Chairman Jaskiernia Issues Appeal

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 1 Sep 82 p 2

[Text] Fellow students!

You are beginning a new school year. The ext year will be one of intensive work. The road to knowledge is not easy, and it demands many sacrifices, much systematic study, independence and perseverance. The vacation allowed you to rest and gather your strength. Many of you rested at the ZSMP camps where, in addition to relaxing, you had the opportunity to seriously and objectively discuss problems important today for all Poles, the young generation and the student community. Also among you is a large group of school-age youth who devoted part of their vacation to work. They deserve high recognition.

We are living in historical and difficult times when a young person must make mature decisions and struggle with many difficult questions, uncertainties and problems. I am convinced that you will be able to count on the help of our organization in overcoming them and on its advocacy in resolving your problems. There is a place in the ZSMP for the activity of each of you who accept our statutory goals, and there is the possibility for broad social and political activity as well as the intermingling of interests and hobbies.

I address special words of recognition to the teachers who work with the ZSMP school organization every day, to those who belong to the active, and to those who support the union's activity in the schools.

I thank you for the labor of educational work and express the hope that the new school year will increase the number of our members and friends in the teaching community.

I wish success in their studies and social work to all young people meeting today behind school walls.

I wish the greatest happiness and satisfaction in their educational work to teachers, educators and parents.

Warsaw, 1 September 1982

Jerzy Jaskiernia, Chairman of the ZSMP Main Board

9451

CSO: 2600/916



MEETING OF SOLIDARITY-COLOGNE GROUP NOTED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI I DZIENNIK ZOLNIERZA in Polish 31 Jul 82 p 12

[Article by J. Jankowski: "Meeting of 'Solidarity' in Cologne"]

[Text] The Cologne "Committee of Solidarity with SOLIDARITY" and the "Solidarity-Cologne Working Group" organized a meeting with Zbigniew Kowalewski, member of the Lodz Board [of Solidarity] and currently the leader of the "SOLIDARITY Provisional Committee [TK]" in France. Before an audience of approximately 100 persons, he described, the period between August 1980 and December 1981 as a [period for finding] way to implement workers' rights.

The concept of self-government which he described was greeted with loud applause which was, however--as it appears--mainly an expression of admiration for the grant aspirations of Poles since it is difficult for a Western observer to understand that the workers' council (nota bene, with the power to make joint decisions--as described by Z. Kowalewski) could name and recall a director (with an election).

The stereotype of a managerial model leadership and of Western law and order will also be a condition for accepting "Solidarity's" method of gaining political power and participation in enterprise management. Namely, this would take on the form of exerting systematic pressure; the generalized example made by Kowalewski: was that the text of the Gdansk Agreement was read to the directors and then followed by threats of being kicked out if "Solidarity" were not admitted to management. Moreover, not everywhere was the Party [PZPR] press sold-out during the 2-day printers' strike.

A weak point of the presentation was the general statement that the political and economic crisis began in the mid-1970's. A sharp statement regarding the system's subsequent loss of face was lacking. What matters here is to avert the legal validity of the question which is so frequently raised in the West, whether the period of "Solidarity" between August and 13 December was a test of the reform or a (self-) correction on the part of state socialism and to finally enlighten Western public opinion that in the wake of economic dependence, others will follow.

Kowalewski ended, however, with a very poignant conclusion: that defending the trade unions in Poland is to defend them everywhere.



At the meeting, an appeal was voted on and passed to the Congress of German Trade Unions (DGB) which since 16 May has continued in Berlin to take an active stand on the Polish issue. Among those who also addressed the meeting was a spokesman for the Afghanistan resistance movement. Afghanistan "like Poland, has recent accounts of wrongs perpetrated by Russia." Dorota Leszczynska also spoke in the name of the "SOLIDARITY-Cologne Working Group." As a matter of course an appeal was forwarded to the Polish People's Republic authorities to release the interns, and a demand to "rehabilitate" "Solidarity" which had a controversial ring to it because this would de facto constitute the recognition of the legitimacy of the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON] and the authority of its Sejm.

To avoid hasty accusations of the alienation of the Cologne youth from Polish reality, let us confine ourselves to the statement made by Heinrich Bolla: "To describe what is happening in Poland, a new vocabulary is needed."

9853

CSO: 2600/848



EMIGRE LONDON DAILY COMMENTATOR DISCUSSES 'YOUTH OPPOSITION'

London DZIENNIK POLSKI I DZIENNIK ZOLNIERZA in Polish No 198, 21 Aug 82  
pp 1, 8

[Article by Teresa Affeltowicz]

[Text] The proclamation of martial law was directed against the entire nation, but was felt most painfully by the young generation who, with such enthusiasm, energy and faith, had been helping to organize a new, democratic life in Poland.

Working youth had been totally absorbed by the task of strengthening Solidarity. Pupils and students had been forming their own independent associations and organizations, publishing their own papers and struggling to purge the humanities of lies. And suddenly one order put a stop to everything, and suspended the activity of the associations; secondary and higher schools were closed, while the gates of prisons and camps were opened only to be closed again behind the imprisoned activists who enjoyed the confidence and respect of the entire Polish society. The Military Council for National Salvation [WRON] feared all Poles, youth included. Anna Stawicka, age 17, a pupil of a Gdansk secondary school and the youngest political prisoner, is an inmate of the women's prison in Fordon; 12 students of several higher schools in Poland have been put in the Wloclawek Prison.

The Military Council for National Salvation [WRON] had hoped through terror and fear, to paralyze the will to resist; it had also hoped that Polish youth would plunge into apathy and that a feeling of hopelessness would destroy the will to act. The participation of young people in street demonstrations, and the unyielding attitude of youthful pupils and students (with whom my article is mainly concerned) took the authorities by surprise.

The party suddenly remembered that "our youth is our nation's future" and that it was imperative to begin to educate our youth properly. Thus, the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee convened in June [as published; the plenum was held 15-16 July], and its agenda was devoted exclusively to problems of the young generation. The key program report was made by general-educator Jaruzelski, under the promising title, "With Our Youth and Concerned About Our Youth." The report was characterized by admonitions, prohibitions and threats, rather than by concern.



The speaker revealed the same truths which were already known to two generations: Namely, that young people do not have an easy beginning "in their adult life"--in a professional career it is difficult to utilize newly acquired skills, there is a lack of apartments for young married couples, and so on...He apologized for Gierk, for the unfulfilled promises dating back to the 1970s, while explaining kindly and patiently that the imposition of martial law had brought about a drastic improvement in this situation (sic!). Today our youth can expect a bright future--on one condition of joining in the task of implementing an unspecified economic reform. Under the slogan "Young People in the Reform" they should entrust their fate to the party and to its faithful arm, the Union of Socialist Youth [ZSMP], urged the general-economist.

As models worthy of imitation by young Polish people, Jaruzelski dragged out two little monsters from the past--the Union of the Struggle of the Young [ZWM] and the Union of Polish Youth [ZMP]. These two organizations are close to the general's heart; he knows that period well, because after a janissary's training in the USSR he had completed his political and military preparation in similar organizations in the [Polish] people's army. However, his knowledge of hisgorical facts is very limited and one-sided, because somehow he completely forgot organizations which had enjoyed great support among Polish youth in that period and whose traditions are alive up to the present among the generation which was born after the war. He did not say one word about the scout Gray Ransk, the OM TUR [Youth Organization of the Society of Workers Universities] the ZMW "Wici" ["Wici" Rural Youth Union] the CZMW [Central Union of Rural Youth] "Siew," and the Union of Democratic Youth [ZMD]. Employing half-truths and lies is a well-tried method of argumentation by party ideologues.

In the report, plans for the future of education had an ominous ring. Here is how Jaruzelski visualizes them: "The school is an institution of the socialist state. That is why the latter will never relinquish its right to set the goals and programs of national education. Secondary and higher schools cannot be the place for a free play of various political forces and orientations. It is a lay school, because such is the socialist school."

This is a clear reversion to the Stalinist period, when even thought itself was censored.

Jaruzelski rebuked university students for their struggle to gain independence for Polish universities and student organizations, characterizing it as "shrill campaigns which negate the values of our system, our alliances, and all the achievements of People's Poland. We have put a stop to these activities, and we will not allow them to continue."

Such utterances can be associated with prison gates rather than with "a brotherly dialogue about copartnership."

At times the dictator even sounded benign: He not only threatened and warned, but also permitted and recommended, as, for example, membership in the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP], the Union of Rural Youth [ZMW], the Socialist Union of Polis9 Students [SZSP], and the Union of Polish Scouts [ZHP]. This



not-so-new and narrow spectrum of the official organizations had already been discredited and rejected by young Polish people a long time ago. Not much is permitted our youth today, except wholehearted participation in sports and tourist activities, the scope of the latter being narrowly defined by the government. On the other hand, they have many obligations as "the future of our nation;" they have to work hard and raise work efficiency in factories. However, nobody has explained how this can be done without raw materials. Young people in the country should plow idle fields (without tractors), and pupils and students have to deepen their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and read works which are recommended by the party.

Thus did the First Secretary of the Central Committee outline the tasks of the young generation under the rule of WRON.

In the so-called "creative and lively" discussion, all the speakers agreed with the boss; therefore, their statements werenot interesting. On the other hand, the identity of the speakers, the so-called youth specialists, gives pause for reflection. The participants were Andrzej Ziemski, editor-in-chief of SZTANDAR MLODYCH [YOUTH BANNER], Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the ZG [Main Board] ZSMP, Col Tadeusz Jemioło, commander of the WOSR [Higher Officers Radio Technology School] and member of the Central Committee, and the "nice little boy scout" Andrezej Ornat, member of the Central Committee and commander-in-chief of the ZHP [Union of Polish Scouts]. Under his leadership, ZHP had declared, as early as 13 December 1981, its loyalty to and full support for WRON. His political credo, published in RZECZPOSPOLITA in February, reads: "We want to continue, and with redoubled energy at that, our collaboration with the state institutions, with the state, and with its specialized segment--the army." Owing to his intrigues, the Independent Scouting Movement [NRH] and the Polish Scout Movement [RHP] ceased to operate; likewise, the A. Malkowski Circles of Scout Instruction Agreement Council [KIHAM] was disbanded. Mr Ornat, for having prevented ZHP from returning to former methods of instruction, which are symbolized up to the present day by the Gray Ranks, was promoted to the rank of minister and appointed chairman for youth affairs under the Council of Ministers.

WRON rewards its faithful subjects generously.

The party has not changed its policy with respect to youth; its aims are the same as always: Internal disorganization of youth through imposed organizations, bribery, servility, denunciations and preventing access to true historical facts. Educators, members of Solidarity leadership and, what is most important, young people themselves are aware of this threat.

Solidarity of the Mazowsze region has taken the initiative of creating Independent Education Circles, and has published an appeal, in the form of a leaflet, to school pupils: "The intensified destruction of the national conscience and the breaking down of character bring forth justifiable spontaneous movements of rebellion. Therefore, initiate actions which will be a real obstacle to the stupefaction and deprivation which the school system brings, but which at the same time will not be an obstacle to completion of studies and to graduation. The principles of effectiveness of action and of reduction of losses apply, in their entirety, also to you."



The appeal, serious and permeated with a sense of responsibility for the fate of Polish youth, has met with the full support of educators and pupils. Teams of humanities specialists are preparing programs for the use of Independent Education Circles, whose activities are to begin after the vacation. On every occasion, secondary school pupils show that they have not resigned themselves to martial law; they organize student protests in schools: During class breaks there is deathly silence instead of laughter, and nobody converses. Pupils wear dark glasses while listening to educational talks by specially sent WRON officers; the Churchill "V" sign is a common form of greeting. Pupils wear resistor badges, or else Solidarity badges, in their lapels, but their protest is not limited to such gestures. They organize collections of money to help the families of those imprisoned, they distribute leaflets and underground publications, and they write petitions to the authorities in support of teachers who are being dismissed. They organize conspiratorial circles and, on the basis of Solidarity underground publications, they organize evenings of historical truth, as was the case in Czestochowa where, when it was discovered by Security, the "Freedom" circle had a membership of 17, all of whom were secondary and technical school pupils. They write letters to editors, in which they ridicule official propaganda for its clumsiness of argumentation. Such a statement appeared in GAZETA ROBOTNICZA [WORKER'S GAZETTE], and was written by five third-year girl pupils; they asserted resolutely: "We associate all the evil with the Soviet Union and not with Reagan, and the editorial office cannot do anything about it."

On 1 August, at the Powazki Military Cemetery, many thousands of these half-children, who had been born after the war, paid tribute to the soldiers of the Home Army [AK].

The present life of young people in Poland is difficult, and only a well-executed task can bring them satisfaction.

Polish youth must be bold, persevering and prudent.

9577

CSO: 2600/911



CONCLUSION OF TANASE AFFAIR DISCUSSED IN PARIS PAPER

Tanase Interview

Paris LE MONDE in French 2 Sep 82 p 13

[Interview with Virgil Tanase on 1 September by Jacques Amalric; place not specified]

[Text] The following is the text of the interview granted us by Mr Virgil Tanase on Wednesday, 1 September:

[Question] Had you already met "Z" before your press conference on Tuesday?

[Answer] Never. I know we have common ties and he could easily have met me if he wanted to. But he never did.

[Question] How does it feel to meet the man who was supposed to kill you?

[Answer] Nothing special. When all is said and done, one realizes that he is a man like the rest of us. You know, he is not a brute. He is a very capable man in the two professions that he exercises, namely, engineer and spy. He himself told me that if it were a question of eliminating a member of his net who would have betrayed it, he would do so without hesitation.

[Question] How was he supposed to kill you?

[Answer] Two scenarios had been suggested to him in Bucharest: ring my door bell and kill me with a revolver or send me an explosive device. He finally convinced his superiors to hire thugs. He then left France, for Vienna I think, to get from another Romanian agent the amount necessary to hire the killers.

[Question] How much was your life worth?

[Answer] Ten thousand dollars, but the agent who passed on the money explained to "Z" that he had lost a lot in the foreign exchange transaction.

[Question] Are you convinced that the order to kill you was given by Mr Ceausescu?



[Answer] I am absolutely sure of it. No other service would have taken the responsibility for such a serious act without the backing of Ceausescu. I further believe that the DST [Directorate of Territorial Surveillance] has proof of this.

[Question] If "Z" does not want to give his identity, why does he show himself on television?

[Answer] He undoubtedly thinks that publicity is his best protection.

[Question] How many identities did "Z" have?

[Answer] Presently, he has two: his identity as a French citizen and his identity as a Romanian agent. It was under this latter name that he was recently decorated in Bucharest when it was believed that he had eliminated me. However, I do know that a third identity is being fabricated for him in France.

[Question] Where exactly did you stay in Brittany over the past few months?

[Answer] In a hamlet made up of three houses near Plouaret.

[Question] What did you do?

[Answer] I read, I took care of my children, I walked along the beach.

[Question] How did you live financially?

[Answer] Thanks to a big advance from my publisher, Flammarion, who had been made aware of the affair right from the beginning.

[Question] Did you never feel ill at ease for having put on that act? In case of any new kidnapping of an opponent, no one will ever believe it from now on.

[Answer] It was a risk to be taken, and then I did not think that my disappearance would bring about such reaction. I remember when a Romanian journalist from Radio Free Europe was attacked; it was in vain that I tried to stir up public opinion in his favor.

"Moscow's Agent"

[Question] What do you think of the relations between Mr Ceausescu and the Soviet Union?

[Answer] I have always thought that Ceausescu was an agent of Moscow. The words are less important than the facts. His speeches do not at all bother Moscow, which is, on the contrary, very happy with his internal policy. Moreover, Ceausescu permits the USSR to enter certain circles that are far from the Kremlin, such as Israel and Chile.



[Question] If he is really an agent of Moscow, does he not risk becoming an inhibiting agent?

[Answer] Two factors prompt one to answer yes. First of all, solidarity exists among communist leaders, but this solidarity dissolves whenever one among them is in danger of falling. The spirit of preservation leads to a breaking away from him so as not to be carried away by his fall. This could happen in Bucharest, where among the leaders there are certain men who could be positive at this time, men such as Ion Iliescu or Cornel Burtica.

Second, the economic and social situation in Romania is so serious that serious trouble could break out. And that would not suit Moscow at all.

#### 'Mr Z' and His Victims

Paris LE MONDE in French 2 Sep 82 p 13

[Article by Christian Colombani: "'Mr Z' and His Victims"]

[Text] French authorities are continuing to respect the rule of silence that they decided to impose on the Virgil Tanase affair and its denouement. On Tuesday, 31 August, the Romanian-born writer, an opponent of the Ceausescu regime, himself confirmed in Paris the entire version of the events as presented by the press. He noted that the DST had indeed "kidnapped" him--with his approval--on 20 May to protect him (in the Cotes du Nord) from threats against his life by the Romanian secret services.

This press conference was marked by the participation of a certain "Mr Z" who introduced himself as the officer of the Romanian services charged with eliminating Mr Tanase and Mr Paul Goma, but who had blabbed to the DST.

Mr Tanase felt that Mr Mitterrand had known about the affair for some time, since the DST had been alerted as early as 9 April. He also said that the examining magistrate in charge of the dossier knew about the case "from the very beginning." Indeed, the magistrate encountered certain difficulties in getting confirmation from the DST that the operation had been hatched by it.

Moreover, Mr Tanase declared that Romanian exiles "wanted to have the guarantee that such affairs could not be repeated in France." He concluded by saying, "We await a communique from the French Government on this issue."

Three men overwhelmed by camera flashes, shot at and assaulted by 20 cameras under a constant torrent of questions in the tiny office of the newspaper ACTUEL where, it is to be hoped, they would be protected from secret agent X or Y and their gadgets that kill. Two good guys and one repentant one tell



their story, incredible but true, in an almost detached tone of voice, undoubtedly not to make it sound too much like a spy novel.

Two writers, nevertheless, namely, Virgil Tanase and Paul Goma, both accustomed to giving narrations, as well as an officer of the Romanian secret services bothered by his conscience--a professional liar. There was enough and more mystery and action, enough to believe them, enough to want to believe them, and yet they hardly succeed, what with their calm demeanor, in conveying their fear.

First of all, Z, the former Romanian spy who has perhaps become a double agent, assumes the airs of a triple agent: "Ceausescu assigned me the mission of getting rid of Goma because of his dissident activity and Tanase for a very virulent article appearing in ACTUEL." But at the last moment, Z's conscience reportedly spoke: "It was a mission that surpassed everything one says--and I will skip that--about love of country." For love, therefore, Z wants to acknowledge that he had in the past denounced Romanians to the DST. But he, he was above all a specialist in industrial espionage. His qualifications as an engineer allegedly permitted him to gain a responsible position in a nuclear plant where he was reportedly given responsibility for studying security problems.

No, really, Z is not a killer, although he did contact French thugs in another affair that he prefers not to talk about. Z is, moreover, hoarse and one has to strain one's ears to hear him. Yes, he was supposed to get rid of Goma at a dinner party in Paris using a fake pen containing an extremely potent poison that provoked cardiac arrest. It is true, the DST that had been alerted was able to intervene in time, and the writer's glass was upset before it reached his lips.

As for Virgil Tanase, he said, "I did not need gloves. They wanted his physical elimination by any means whatsoever, by pistol or explosive." Z then revealed his last hoax: he had forewarned the DST, which undertook the kidnapping of Mr Tanase, permitting him to continue his spy work in Romania for 6 months, the time needed by Z to expatriate his loved ones: his brother and mother. The mission was nearly over when an article appearing in LE MATIN DE PARIS on Tuesday, 31 August, reportedly upset his plans. At the last moment, Mrs Z, his mother, reportedly was unable to catch the plane in Bucharest. "I would not be surprised," the son said in that hoarse and dispassionate voice, "if she had had an accident there."

Mr Goma's account, less verbose, is no less neutral. He confirmed the case of poison but said he knew no more about it. Mr Tanase, in turn, related, still in that tone of voice not up to par with the incredible adventure: he was indeed kidnapped by the DST. For 6 months, two agents were his sole contacts. He was in the country, at an untraceable spot in Brittany, between Lannion, Morlaix and Guingamp. He said, "Even those of the DST who used to come to see me could not find their way." My wife, who was au courant, said nothing to the criminal squad inspectors: "We were in danger of death, too many people did not need to be informed." To the point where Virgil Tanase also said nothing to his mother, who therefore believed to have disappeared



and who in the meantime had returned to Romania to run risks. It is the naked truth. The evidence appears in the judge's dossier, the dose of poison, the pen--the DST, according to Tanase, allegedly worked under judicial control.

And why would a tyrannical chief of state not send someone on a mission to kill? It can be understood that for these three men this outpouring was a way to save their skins. But there was a crowd at this press conference and emotion was not communicated. "We were threatened with death and perhaps we still are," added Virgil Tanase. "We survive only through our name." The spotlights are extinguished and the crowd of journalists moved on.

#### Role of Examining Magistrate

Paris LE MONDE in French 2 Sep 82 p 13

[Article by Br. F.: "The Role of the Examining Magistrate"]

[Text] Four days after the "disappearance" of Mr Tanase in Paris and his faked kidnapping by the DST--aimed at protecting him--Mr Jean Louis Debre, examining magistrate on the Paris court of justice, was, on 24 May, entrusted with the dossier and began legal proceedings for "illegal arrest and illegal restraint of a person." At what moment was Mr Debre informed of the background of the case and did he understand that he could conclude these legal proceedings--as he was to do shortly--by declaring a dismissal of the charges?

If Mr Tanase is to be believed, when the examining magistrate heard him in Paris on 23 August in the greatest secrecy (8 days before the press revelations), he allegedly "authorized him to say that the entire operation had been conducted under judicial control and under his surveillance." On Wednesday, 1 September, Mr Tanase told us, "That appears in the file of my deposition." Does that mean that Mr Debre knew the "disappeared person" was in a safe place as far back as 24 May? Not at all.

According to what we know from reliable sources, the examining magistrate had, on the contrary, serious difficulties in seeing things clearly at the beginning of the preliminary investigation, and about 15 days ensued between the time he was entrusted with the case and when he understood the hoax. On 28 May, he heard from Mrs Tanase and decided to have her telephone tapped.

For a few days he experienced difficulties in obtaining a correct and complete record of the telephone taps. One of the documents finally awakened his suspicions. The magistrate understood that one of Mrs Tanase's interlocutors was a member of the DST. Ordering an investigation, the magistrate obtained the name of this DST commissioner and called him in on 11 June.

The police officer remained vague and said nothing essential, but from that moment, Mr Debre was fully informed.



On 6 July, Mrs Tanase, who once again was heard from, declared to the examining magistrate that her husband was in a safe place in Brittany. In the meantime, on 2 July, Mr Debre once again heard from the DST commissioner. It was not until 8 July--a month and a half after the kidnapping--that Mr Chalet, the DST director himself, was heard from by Mr Debre.

It was therefore in the first days of July that the magistrate informed the public prosecutor about the status of his legal proceedings. Via the attorney general, this report would naturally be transmitted to the Ministry of Justice. One may imagine that the minister under whom the DST falls, namely, the minister of interior, had already been informed in other ways.

The same holds true for the chief of state, who had made an ambiguous statement during his 9 June press conference (and not 9 July as we erroneously wrote in LE MONDE of 1 September). Mr Tanase has told us that on that day, "Mr Mitterrand knew everything." But the writer does not know the exact moment the DST informed the chief of state about the revelations of the Romanian officer, the famous "Mr Z." A "Mr Z" whom Mr Debre will shortly hear from before concluding this case.

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CSO: 3100/949



## BRIEFS

GOVERNMENTAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ludovic Fazekas, deputy prime minister of the government, is also appointed chairman of the Council for the Coordination of Consumer Goods Production. Comrade Alexandrina Gainuse, deputy prime minister of the government, is also appointed chairman of the Council for the Coordination and Direction of the Activity of Providing Supplies and Services to the Population. Comrade Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy prime minister of the government, is also appointed chairman of the Government Commission for Economic and Technical Collaboration and Cooperation and permanent representative of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Comrade Petre Gigea, minister of finance, is also appointed chairman of the State Finance and Banking Council. Comrade Emilian Dobrescu, chairman of the State Planning Committee, is appointed chairman of the Government Commission for the Rationalization of the Accounting System in Socialist Units. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 74, 30 Aug 82 p 2]

REMOVAL OF DEPUTY MINISTERS--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Magdalena Filipas is released from her position as first deputy minister of light industry. Comrade Stefan Constantinescu is released from his position as deputy minister of the metallurgical industry. Comrade Gheorghe Airinei is released from his position as deputy minister of transportation and telecommunications. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 74, 30 Aug 82 p 2]

NEW DEPUTY MINISTER--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Marin Constantin is appointed deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 73, 19 Aug 82 p 4]

GOVERNMENTAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Dumitru Bejan is relieved of his position as minister state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation. Comrade Alexandru Rosu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the machine-building industry and appointed minister state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation. Comrade Paula Prioteasa is released from her position as deputy chairman of the Central Council for Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity



and appointed deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. Comrade Nicolae Andrei is appointed deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. Comrade Nicolae Ionescu is relieved of his position as state secretary of the National Council for Science and Technology and appointed deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 68, 22 Jul 82 p 3]

PEOPLE'S COUNCIL APPOINTMENT--Inasmuch as the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Timis County People's Council has become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the people's councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Cornel Pacoste is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Timis County People's Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 68, 22 Jul 82 p 3]

CSO: 2700/3



SLOVENIAN SURVEY SHOWS UNPRECEDENTED CRITICISM OF LCY

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul 82 pp 4-8

[Article by Momcilo Djorgovic: "What Do Slovenes Think: Never Have Slovenes Been So Critical as This Year"]

[Text] Not often can one read in the newspapers what "ordinary" people think about important issues, those people we pass every day on the street, whom we jostle on public transport, who have the same everyday concerns we do, the people certain sociologists like to think about as the mass. What do these "ordinary" people, while they do their various jobs, get up and go to bed with their personal problems, think about the government, the party, the fraternal nationalities, the standard of living, self-management, economic difficulties, stabilization, and the events in Kosovo? And that, moreover, "ordinary" people in our "out-of-the-ordinary" republic--Slovenia. In the most highly developed republic, where unemployment is low, and where per capita income is highest.

For more than a decade the Research Institute of the Ljubljana School of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism has been studying Slovenian public opinion almost every year. And if we look back from 1982 to all those studies since 1968, we clearly note currents of public opinion concerning important issues of the community.

A More Critical Attitude

In the study before us, which is entitled "Slovenian Public Opinion 1982," this year's research results have been compared with previous results, and the first thing that strikes one is that in evaluating socioeconomic and political relations, specific issues in economic development, the performance of socio-political organizations, relations among the nationalities and republics, supply, health service, the standard of living, and in general the present and future, Slovenes (the researchers are cautious and say--the respondents) display a more critical attitude than before.

That critical attitude is most pronounced in evaluating the financial position of the individual and his family: there has been a marked increase in the share of answers concerning a drop in financial condition of the respondents and their families both compared to the situation a year ago and also the



situation 5 years ago. There were only about 8 percent of the people who in 1970 expected that their position would be worse in 5 years, while today they represent all of 22 percent. Moreover, all of 41 percent are undecided, which we can interpret as a feeling of doubt about the future. All of 42 percent of the respondents feel that social conditions in Slovenia are worse in 1982 than they were in 1980.

The public also makes a very critical assessment of the domain of the distribution of income and remuneration. About 45 percent of the respondents feel that remuneration is not such that the man who works more also receives a larger income. The number of such responses increased considerably by comparison with 1980. What is more, 46 percent of the respondents feel that the present distribution of personal income has a markedly adverse effect on human relations in the collective. It is obvious that the public sees the area of remuneration as a very critical point.

It is interesting that the respondents list the following as the main reasons which brought about the economic and social difficulties: an oversized administrative apparatus which does too little work (59.8 percent), supervisory personnel are not accountable for their errors (58.9 percent), people in general are working too little at their jobs (48 percent), poor organization of work and outdated technology (43.1 percent), external causes such as the price of petroleum, the closing of the international market (35.5 percent), productive work is not rewarded (33.5 percent), and our adoption of poor public decisions (33.1 percent).

Is the Policy Which Has Been Adopted by the League of Communists in Line With the Interests of a Majority of the People?

<u>Response</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>70/71</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>75/76</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>81/82</u>
Yes, it is	18.7	31.3	29.3	26.7	26.2	38.0	43.9	49.8	22.9
It is to some extent	35.5	35.3	36.9	38.1	33.0	26.0	22.5	22.7	37.7
No, it isn't	9.7	4.8	6.3	4.9	5.0	2.9	2.2	2.2	6.5
I don't know, I am not familiar with the policy	36.1	28.6	27.5	30.1	35.8	33.1	31.8	25.8	32.9

The Ljubljana sociologist Zdenko Roter, however, feels that this more critical attitude is an "integral part of the continuing high degree of consensus as to the basic values and goals of our society."

Recently the Yugoslav public has been stirred up by two debates, both in Slovenia. One about language and the other about "kebob" (Bojan Stih against the restaurant "Skadarlija"). Many people caught an odor of nationalism and chauvinism in both, but then many others did not. In any case one thing is certain: we are very sensitive to relations among the nationalities, especially since the events in Kosovo.



## Uncertainty and Lack of Information

In response to the question of what has happened or is happening in Yugoslavia to make you feel uncertain 18.4 percent of the respondents opted for the events in Kosovo, that is, to a much greater degree than for the economic difficulties, crisis (6.8 percent), or higher prices, inflation, devaluation, low personal incomes (7.7 percent). To be sure, 65 percent of the respondents answered this question with "nothing like that, I do not know what." Which, of course, can be interpreted in differing ways, but not as laziness; it should in addition be mentioned that this question was a so-called "open question," that is, it was not a question where the possible answers were given for the respondents to merely circle. Perhaps that figure would have been higher if people had been better informed about the events. After all, in response to the question of whether they had been well informed about Kosovo, 43 percent answered that they were poorly informed or knew nothing about it, while 57 percent felt that they had been thoroughly informed. The number of uninformed was highest among unskilled workers (63 percent) and peasants (82 percent). Dr Peter Klinar makes this comment: "These figures on being uninformed or not informed enough are disturbing, because we cannot characterize the events in Kosovo as local regional events, but as events which affect Yugoslav society as a whole. The problem we see here is that the mass media did not manage to sufficiently arouse broader interest in the events in Kosovo."

In response to the question of whether they were affected by the events, 66 percent of the Slovenes questioned answered "yes." Dr Klinar interprets this reaction like this: "Probably people would have been less affected by events in Kosovo if the Slovenian public had had objective and complete information on that topic concerning the problems and intrigues in that province. Before the events in Kosovo the Slovenian public was not informed about the large-scale emigration of non-Albanian population from Kosovo, about the arbitrariness of the Kosovo bureaucracy, about the low development of self-management, about the extremely low productivity, about the hostile activity of guests from the People's Republic of Albania and about various other contradictions in relations among the nationalities."

Although we have taken great pains to find those responsible for the events in Kosovo, the Slovenes have been unambiguous in pointing to the principal culprits. In answer to an "open question" as to whom they consider at fault, they put in first place the political leadership and business executives of Kosovo (23 percent). However, the datum that professors at Kosovo University, teachers and educated people received only 2 percent of the votes shows at least two things: either that we have not yet gotten a true picture about their subversive activity, or that the respondents believe that the subversive activity of educated people was stimulated by events at the grass roots or from certain forums.

## The Way Out Is Self-Management

In any case the respondents detected with what we would call Marxist penetration that the greatest guilt falls on those who should have resolved the problems and difficulties or furnished information about them.



It is interesting to take note of something else: only 5 percent of the respondents found the guilty parties among those responsible in the Federation and the Republic of Serbia; however, they were specifically those with secondary and higher education.

Alignment of Relations in the Yugoslav Economy Necessitates Certain Measures, Sacrifices, and Belt Tightening by Individuals and Collectives. Do We Have To Make Those Sacrifices and Efforts and Tighten Our Belts or Not?

<u>Measures</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>We Must Accept Them</u>	<u>We Do Accept Them, But It Is Not Nec- essary</u>	<u>We Must Not Ac- cept Them</u>	<u>Undecided, Don't Know</u>
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
Less money to in- crease personal in- comes and raise the standard of living	70/71 72 75/76 80 81/82	13.4 26.2 13.7 21.8 11.2	18.4 35.0 25.3 27.1 22.3	59.2 33.2 54.0 42.4 50.2	9.0 5.2 6.8 8.6 15.7
It would be best for people to work more	70/71 72 75/76 80 81/82	58.2 57.8 75.2 82.8 80.9	18.8 23.1 13.7 11.2 9.9	16.0 15.6 7.9 3.4 2.9	7.1 3.1 2.9 3.1 6.3
Less money for the schools, health care and culture	70/71 72 75/76 80 81/82	3.1 3.5 5.1 9.0 9.3	10.2 5.9 9.2 15.1 15.8	78.0 86.4 81.3 70.5 64.1	8.7 4.0 4.2 5.5 10.8
Better not to build new factories	70/71 72 75/76 80 81/82	19.5 25.0 20.9 24.0 32.6	24.0 25.4 25.0 26.4 23.3	44.4 40.0 46.2 40.7 27.1	12.2 9.3 7.4 8.7 17.0
Less investment to modernize factories	70/71 72 75/76 80 81/82	15.0 -- 9.5 11.5 13.4	20.8 -- 11.3 14.1 12.5	51.2 -- 71.0 65.1 60.3	13.0 -- 8.0 9.2 13.8
Less hiring	70/71 72 75/76 80 81/82	4.2 -- 10.8 16.2 13.0	6.2 -- 15.4 23.7 17.9	81.5 -- 67.1 52.0 53.6	6.6 -- 6.4 8.0 15.4



Table (continued)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Abolish unprofitable factories	70/71	69.1	14.3	6.6	10.0
	72	--	--	--	--
	75/76	63.6	16.2	11.2	8.6
	80	58.4	19.5	11.8	10.2
	81/82	63.5	13.9	9.1	13.5
Import less and export more	70/71	82.7	5.9	2.2	9.2
	72	77.1	10.4	5.0	7.1
	75/76	82.8	7.6	4.2	5.1
	80	83.8	7.6	2.6	6.0
	81/82	76.0	10.1	4.2	9.7
Put people with knowledge in places of responsibility	70/71	--	--	--	--
	72	94.3	2.3	0.2	2.9
	75/76	92.2	2.8	1.4	3.3
	80	27.2	7.3	1.3	4.2
	81/82	88.8	4.0	1.0	6.2
Do away with wastefulness, entertainment as a business expense, travel and the squandering of the resources of society	81/82	85.5	5.3	2.5	6.7
Every public and business decision must be soundly based	70/71	--	--	--	--
	72	89.1	3.4	0.5	6.8
	75/76	88.7	2.6	1.1	7.2
	80	85.2	5.9	1.2	7.7
	81/82	85.6	4.3	1.1	9.0
Luxurious administration buildings should not be built	81/82				
Consumer credit should be abolished	70/71	--	--	--	--
	72	9.7	20.1	64.0	5.9
	75/76	6.5	12.8	75.8	4.5
	80	7.7	21.0	64.2	6.8
	81/82	22.1	26.3	37.8	13.8
The price level should be regulated by statute	70/71	--	--	--	--
	72	77.0	9.7	7.6	5.6
	75/76	74.5	10.7	7.7	6.8
	80	68.9	14.6	8.6	7.8
	81/82	63.2	13.0	9.3	14.5



One of the fundamental dilemmas of Yugoslav society at the moment is how to go further along the road of democratic self-management, that is, how to avoid government and bureaucratic-administrative pressures. This dilemma is especially manifested in the strange relations in Kosovo. Slovenes (those questioned) are also aware of this. A majority feel that the self-management line should be followed in putting the Kosovo situation in order, that is, that harsh and repressive administrative measures should be avoided. The development of the democratic relations of self-management was opted for by 64 percent of the respondents, 19 percent were undecided, and only 4 percent did not see democratization of relations as a way out. And then 79 percent of the respondents feel that the best two measures to resolve the Kosovo problem are to raise productivity, to tighten up work discipline, to increase job opportunities and to invoke rapid penalties against those responsible. As for those responsible, Slovenes (74 percent) favor a tighter responsibility for politicians and feel that those responsible for outbursts should be strictly punished (74 percent again) and that in general harsh judicial, administrative and protective measures should be invoked, but only against those guilty of public disorder. However, reestablishment of equality among the nationalities in Kosovo and the comprehensive development of the nationalities and ethnic minorities are possible, according to the respondents, only by achieving and broadening the relations of self-management.

#### Restriction on Migration

It is interesting to see what Slovenes think about relations among the nationalities in their own republic. Assessments of relations between Slovenes and the two minorities (Italians and Hungarians) which live in Slovenia are markedly favorable. However, in assessments of relations between Slovenes and workers from the other republics certain negative shifts are noticeable as compared to certain studies done 2 years ago or more. In response to the question of whether the arrival of workers from the other regions of Yugoslavia is a threat to Slovenes or not, only 25 percent of the respondents felt that these migrations are no threat to Slovenes. It appears that one can conclude that in the present economic and social difficulties there is growing conviction in Slovenian public opinion that domestic Yugoslav migration should be restricted. In the survey sample of about 3,000 adults (in 420 settlements), 35 percent felt that the influx was a threat to the hiring of Slovenes, 28 percent felt that the Slovenian language was threatened, 15 percent that Slovenian customs were threatened, 15 percent that the nationality was threatened, and 7 percent that Slovenia's economic development was threatened, while 19 percent were undecided. The feeling of a threat, then, is concentrated on two areas: the economic and the cultural and ethnic.

Sociologists feel that these results give warning of latent conflicts which might grow into various manifestations of nationalism. The need is arising for clear political positions concerning the problems which domestic migration is placing on the agenda.

Young people and students express the feeling of threat about unemployment to the highest degree. The threat to the Slovenian language affects highly skilled workers and office workers with elementary and secondary education,



while strata with higher education feel the threat to the nationality. Sociologists feel that the phenomena of ethnic distance, negative prejudices, xenophobia, and discrimination are caused by the fact that the newcomers are coming from rural and less developed regions with different habits and a different culture. They are then perfected by the processes of adaptation, of acculturation, which also accounts for anomie. "Their reaction is sometimes at the level of social disorganization or social pathology, which among the hosts evokes negative prejudices and stereotypes, restriction of communication and a process of a mutual backing off," Dr Peter Klinar feels.

In general Slovenians render favorable judgments about relations among the nationalities. When asked what brings our nationalities closer together, they answered: a single state, brotherhood and unity, socialism and self-management, defense and protection. Incidentally, the following are taken as factors which divide us and make us different: language, religion, cultural tradition, habits, the standard of living, a love of order and economic interests. The study shows that Slovenes want to develop friendly, good neighborly and harmonious work relations with the other Yugoslav nationalities and minorities. Ethnic distance has increased only with respect to the Albanian nationality. Which is in large part a consequence of the events in Kosovo. Slovenes have a favorable assessment of Slovenia's linkage with the other republics. Sociologists, however, look upon these assessments as insufficiently critical, since it seems that the respondents have held to what are referred to as low criteria of mutual relations, which is favored for the fact that they are not sufficiently informed about cases of republic localism.

#### Policy of the League of Communists

Yet another very interesting question was put to the respondents: Is the policy which has been adopted by the League of Communists in line with the interests of a majority of the people? In view of the importance of the question, we called upon the sociologist Niko Tos to comment on the results obtained. He compressed his comment into five points:

1. The period from May 1968 to May 1969 was characterized by events which had an impact on the interests, evaluation and sentiments of a majority of our people. That period included the student events in June 1968, the intervention of the Warsaw Pact in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 and the "fraternal aid" to Czechoslovakia, and finally the Sixth Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia in September 1968 and the Ninth Congress of the LCY in March 1969. We have noted only those key social and political events and moments of crisis which aroused, awakened and involved a large majority of the population. All of this applies above all, of course, to the intervention of the Warsaw Pact powers in Czechoslovakia and the Yugoslav position taken in connection with that event. Immediately following these events, the League of Communists clearly expressed its view in a thorough political analysis concerning the basic issues of social development, relations within the international working class movement and among socialist states, and it laid the groundwork for its position concerning the theory of limited sovereignty. These are undoubtedly circumstances which contributed considerably to involvement of the rank and file of the League of Communists, as shown by the favorable assessments of



conformity of the policy of the League of Communists with the interests of a majority of the people as well as a considerable reduction of negative critical evaluations.

2. The period from 1969 to 1973 was a period of gradual change manifested in the parallel reduction of favorable and mixed views and an increase in critical views. This "calm" period, of which 1970 can be taken as an example, is characteristic of the period right up until 1973.

3. The third period covers the years from 1973 to 1978. The Slovenian political atmosphere at the beginning of that period was marked by the showdown with the phenomenon of nationalism and liberalism. The League of Communists had involved itself in discussing and resolving the key problems of social development. This period was marked by critical evaluation of social relations, expressed at the 10th LCY Congress and 7th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia. Those are probably the circumstances which brought about a change in views, as shown by the measurements of public opinion in 1976 and 1978. It is significant about that period that there was an essential drop in the number of critical views and an increase in the number of favorable views, that there was some reduction in the share of mixed views, and that at the same time the proportion of uncommitted remains by and large unchanged or dropped negligibly.

When You Compare Life Today With Life Approximately 5 Years Ago, in Your Judgment Is the Situation Better Today With Respect to These Things, Approximately the Same or Poorer?

<u>Situation</u>	<u>Year</u>	It Is Quite a Bit Better Today	It Is Better Today	Approximately the Same	It Is Poorer Today	It Is Quite a Bit Poorer Today	Don't Know, Uncided	No Answer
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>
How much one has to work	78		62.8	22.0		14.3	--	0.8
	80	12.3	44.8	23.4	15.0	1.5	3.0	--
	81/82	6.0	21.5	38.8	23.6	4.9	4.7	0.5
How people live	78		85.2	12.1		2.2	--	0.5
	80	17.0	56.3	18.0	6.9	0.3	1.4	0.1
	81/82	5.9	34.3	28.1	25.9	3.2	2.4	0.3
The democratic spirit of de- cisionmaking	78		72.3	23.2		2.7	--	1.9
	80	11.7	49.7	20.1	4.4	0.5	12.8	0.7
	81/82	5.5	31.8	36.8	8.1	1.2	15.9	1.3
Self-manage- ment	78		80.1	16.5		1.7	--	1.6
	80	14.6	56.4	14.9	3.5	0.5	9.9	0.0
	81/82	5.4	32.7	36.9	7.8	1.5	15.2	0.4



Table (continued)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Respect for work and workers	78		58.6	31.8		8.1	--	1.5
	80	8.1	42.8	27.8	11.8	1.3	7.9	0.2
	81/82	4.6	30.1	34.2	18.9	3.6	8.1	0.4
Possibility of obtaining housing	78		51.3	29.2		17.4	--	2.1
	80	7.2	32.2	19.4	23.9	5.0	11.9	0.4
	81/82	2.0	15.8	11.6	38.1	18.9	13.4	0.3
Possibility of obtaining a job	78		54.8	27.6		15.9	--	1.7
	80	8.4	38.9	18.3	24.6	3.1	6.7	--
	81/82	1.9	9.9	12.1	46.8	21.6	7.1	0.7
Legality	78		58.5	33.1		5.5	--	2.9
	80	7.7	47.6	23.6	5.9	0.6	14.2	0.3
	81/82	2.2	18.2	42.9	10.9	3.1	20.2	2.4
Possibility for education and learning a skill	78		86.7	10.4		1.9	--	1.0
	80	27.5	56.4	7.8	3.3	0.1	4.0	0.8
	81/82	12.8	44.4	23.5	11.1	1.6	6.1	0.4
Cultural life	78		64.9	27.9		5.7	--	1.5
	80	14.3	49.6	21.5	8.3	0.6	5.6	0.0
	81/82	7.1	38.9	32.8	10.1	2.0	8.5	0.5
Opportunities open to children	78		59.4	30.0		8.7	--	1.8
	80	10.2	43.9	27.1	10.8	0.9	6.8	0.3
	81/82	6.1	24.6	31.2	24.1	5.1	0.5	0.4

4. In 1968 18.7 percent of the respondents expressed the view that policy was in accord; 10 years later this view was expressed by 43.9 percent, and in 1980 all of 49.3 percent of all the respondents.

There is no doubt that the increase in the share of favorable assessments also includes a larger share of conformist assessments. Of course, in evaluating the results we cannot bypass the main event of that time: President Tito's illness and death. Every favorable result in measuring public opinion in June and July 1980 we can attribute to people's need to completely identify themselves with the self-management system and the League of Communists, as the principal vehicle of that system, related to the death of President Tito.

5. As for sociopolitical developments and economic developments above all, one would be incautious to expect that after 1980 this trend in evaluating the policy of the League of Communists would continue. The accumulated economic problems, the events in Kosovo, and so on, have been expressed in the political awareness of people through an increased critical attitude in general. An understanding of the current social role of the LCY and the appointment of LCY



members to all the most responsible public posts contributes to explaining this critical change of direction in people's political awareness. The figures from the 1982 study do not show that there has recently been a change in evaluation of the role of the LCY and that it has been held more obviously responsible than before for the present situation and its efforts in the social and economic area (concern for production and higher productivity, for facilitating more rapid economic development, the questions of stabilization, improvement of the standard of living, and so on), along with guaranteeing the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia and the development of self-management and socialist democracy.

The study of Slovenian public opinion in 1982 offers many other interesting data which we cannot pass on because of space limitations. As with any poll it is worthwhile to guard against generalizations and not immediately draw conclusions after the manner of "there, that is what the people think." The caution of the scientists, who speak about "indicators," is an extenuating circumstance, but at the same time one should not forget that at times even the most insignificant details have been sufficient for resolving complicated riddles and situations.

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